

The Vale of Kola: A Final Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey

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for Vazken L. Parsegian

This Final Preliminary Report marks the end of my field surveys in the Marchlands. Collectively, these Reports were never intended to give the definitive, comprehensive picture of the medieval buildings and historical geography of the region. I intentionally selected specific valleys and sites that had been either misinterpreted or ignored. At present scholars in the United States and in Europe are preparing new studies on the churches of the Marchlands, and this material combined with my own research should provide the foundation for a general assessment of the architecture. Another goal of my project is to determine how the history of an area so clearly defined and isolated by the topography was linked to that of its powerful neighbors. My conclusions on this subject are confined to the section "Observations on the Marchlands." Preceding this section I discuss the valley of Kola and the single fort that I surveyed in August 1983.¹

The vale of Kola (Armenian: Koł) is a small, triangular-shaped depression in the rugged eastern flank of the Marchlands. The significant peaks in the enveloping ring of mountains are Kartal

Tepe to the northeast and the Kabak Dağları (alt. 3,051 m) with their adjacent spurs at the east and southeast (northwest of Kars on Fig. 2; Koyun Dağı marks the center of the eastern flank on Fig. 3). Oğlı Dağ (marked as Kop Dağı at the bottom of Fig. 3) is the southern terminus of the valley. The summits forming the western barrier are (from south to north): Nazırvap, Ardavut, and Ziyaret. To the northwest the towering Zamp Dağı completes the circuit (Fig. 3). Today the principal municipality in the valley is Göle, the pre-Atatürk Merdenik, now the site of a large army garrison. Situated below the base of Oğlı Dağ, this town commands three very strategic arteries which link Kars (via the Balçemşme Pass, Fig. 2), Ardahan, and Oltu (via the Agundir Pass and Penek).² The name Göle is derived from the Georgian designation for the area's major medieval settlement, Kola.³ The pre-Turkish district (i.e., the valley) received its name from that town.⁴ Ironically, this original settlement is now the somewhat obscure village of Okam (Çayırbaşı). Although Okam is by-

¹This article was written during my tenure as an Associate Scholar at Dumbarton Oaks (1985–86). I was supported financially during this period by a stipend from the Armenian Professional Society. Messrs. Peter J. Kasavan and Jack Herbert assisted in the preparation of the plan for Oğlı Kalesi. I would like to thank Profs. Alexander Kazhdan and Robert Thomson, as well as two anonymous readers, for their comments on the typescript. With the kind assistance of Profs. Nina Garsoïan and Robert Hewsen I was able to obtain the map from which Fig. 3 is reproduced.

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Throughout this paper I shall refer to my two previous Reports on the Marchlands in *DOP* 39–40 as the First Preliminary Report and the Second Preliminary Report.

²A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, DOS 20 (Washington, D.C., 1985), I, 59; V. Minorsky, "Transcaucasia (1)," *JA* 217, no. 1 (1930), 109 f; W. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields* (Cambridge, 1953), 43, 119, 223, map 19; İ. Kökten, "Kars'in Tarih Öncesi Hakkında İlk Kısa Rapor," *Belleten* 7.1 (1943), 601–13; J. Brant, "Journey through a Part of Armenia and Asia Minor in the Year 1835," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 6 (1836), 198 ff.

³According to Minorsky (*ibid.*), the name "Göle" evolved through the local folk etymology into Min [Bin]-göl (a thousand lakes). The toponym Bingöl survives to the south of Kola. See: E. Honigsmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071* (Brussels, 1935), 80, 157 note 1, 195, 197; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (Vienna, 1930), 492–94, 507; R. Hartmann, "Zu Ewlija Tschelebi's Reisen im oberen Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet," *Der Islam* 9 (1919), 243.

⁴T. Wakhoucht, *Description géographique de la Géorgie, publiée d'après l'original autographe par M. Brosset* (St. Petersburg, 1842), 119.

passed by the modern trunk road from Göle to Ardahan,⁵ in an earlier period it was the junction for travel to Kars and the north. Not far from Okam the road to Olur leads west via the Pirdanos Pass (through Dört Kilise, Fig. 3).⁶ The significance of Kola lay not with its road system but with the hundreds of small streams that converge near Okam to form the great Kur(a) River. From spring to fall the valley floor is abundantly fertile and sustains a moderate population. Around the entire valley a thick pine forest supports a burgeoning lumber industry. Along with its smaller counterpart at Körolu, this is one of the few surviving forests in the southern Marchlands.

Depending on the amount of trust that one places in the pre-ninth-century narrative of Leonti Mroveli, Kola may have been part of Iberia in the early Pharnabazid period and administered by the Duchy of Tsunda (fourth to third centuries B.C.).⁷ The earliest Georgian legends place Kola and Artani among the original lands of Georgia. They may have fallen under the control of Artaxiad Armenia in the second century B.C. and then reverted to Iberia in the first century. Two sources from the first century A.D. indicate that the land where the Kur(a) rises was briefly part of Greater Armenia.⁸ St. Gregory the Illuminator (first quarter of the fourth century) supposedly sent the bishop Bassos to Koł, but this association is uncertain, especially since Koł does not appear in any of the early lists of bishops.⁹ At this same time, during

the conversion of Iberia, there is specific mention in the Georgian sources of the princes of Kola.¹⁰ C. Toumanoff is probably correct in assuming that despite the changes in political boundaries the valley remained Georgian ethnically because of the ancient traditions embodied in the *Martyrdom of the Nine Infants of Kola*. In 1903 Nicholai Marr published an edition of this life that was based on the Mount Athos manuscript of the tenth century.¹¹ Ostensibly, it is the brief description of nine pagan children who converted to Christianity and were stoned to death by their parents for refusing to apostasize. In this work there are important clues regarding the Georgian administration of this region at some period between the early third and the late fourth century. What follows are extracts and the most literal translations that I could render. The location of the events is certain.

იყო სოფელი ერთი დიდი თავსა ზედა: დიდისა მის მდინარისასა: რომელსა ჰრქვან მტკუარი. კევსა რომელსა ჰრქვან კოლა: და იყო უმრავლესი ერი სოფლისაჲ მის წარმართთა კერპთ მსახური. და უმცროსი ერი ქრისტიანე ღმრთის მსახური:

There was one large area at the head (source) of the massive river which was called Mtkuari (Kura), in the valley which was known as Kola. Most residents of this area were worshipers of the pagan idols, and the smaller group were Christians—God's servants.

და ვითარ ვერ შეუძლეს [შეცვალებად] მტკიცე იგი სარწმუნოებაჲ მათი: მივიდეს მთავრისა წინაშე მის ჟამისასა. რამეთუ იყო იგივე წარმართი. და აღუყეს ყოველი იგი ყოფილი. და საქმე ყრმათაჲ მათ: ხოლო მთავარმან მან ჰრქუა მათ. შვილნი თქუენნი არიან: კელმწიფებაჲ გაქუს. უყავთ რაღცა გნებავს: ხოლო მათ ჰრქუეს. ბრძანე და მოვედ ჩუენთანა და ქვითა განვტყვნეთ იგინი. რაჲთა არა სხუანი აჰბადენ: და ქრისტიანე იქმნენ.

... and as they could not [change] their (the children's) strong faith, they went before the Mt'avari (commander of the army, governor, prince) at that time, because he too was pagan. They reported all this that had happened and the deeds of their children.

⁵This road was built around 1878 by the Russians to facilitate their conquest of the Oltu region. See Allen and Muratoff, *Battlefields*, 223, 249 f, 259 f, 266, 275, 281.

⁶There is much confusion about the actual location of this route. Allen and Muratoff (*Battlefields*, 119, map 19) place the Panaskirt Pass at Dört Kilise (Fig. 3; northwest of Okam on fig. 1, Second Preliminary Report); on one recent map (Deutsche Heereskarte, Blatt-Nr. C-XV, 1:200,000, "Oltu," 1941) the modern village of Paniskirt is placed at the same latitude as Göle. Unfortunately, the toponyms Panas-, Panis-, and Penek are repeated with such frequency in this area that it is difficult to determine if the modern Paniskirt is the medieval P'anaskert. By reason of their proximity to this area, I have tentatively concluded that the major sites of Kız and Olan (First Preliminary Report, 32 f) are the historical P'anaskert. The reader should be aware that dozens of forts still remain undiscovered in this region and that a more credible candidate for P'anaskert may be found. Cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, map 4, 219–21; D. Bakradze, *Arxeologičeskoe putešestvie po Gurii i Adčare* (St. Petersburg, 1878), map.

⁷C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 445 f note 37, 456 f, 498; cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, *History of the Armenians*, trans. R. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 135, 145.

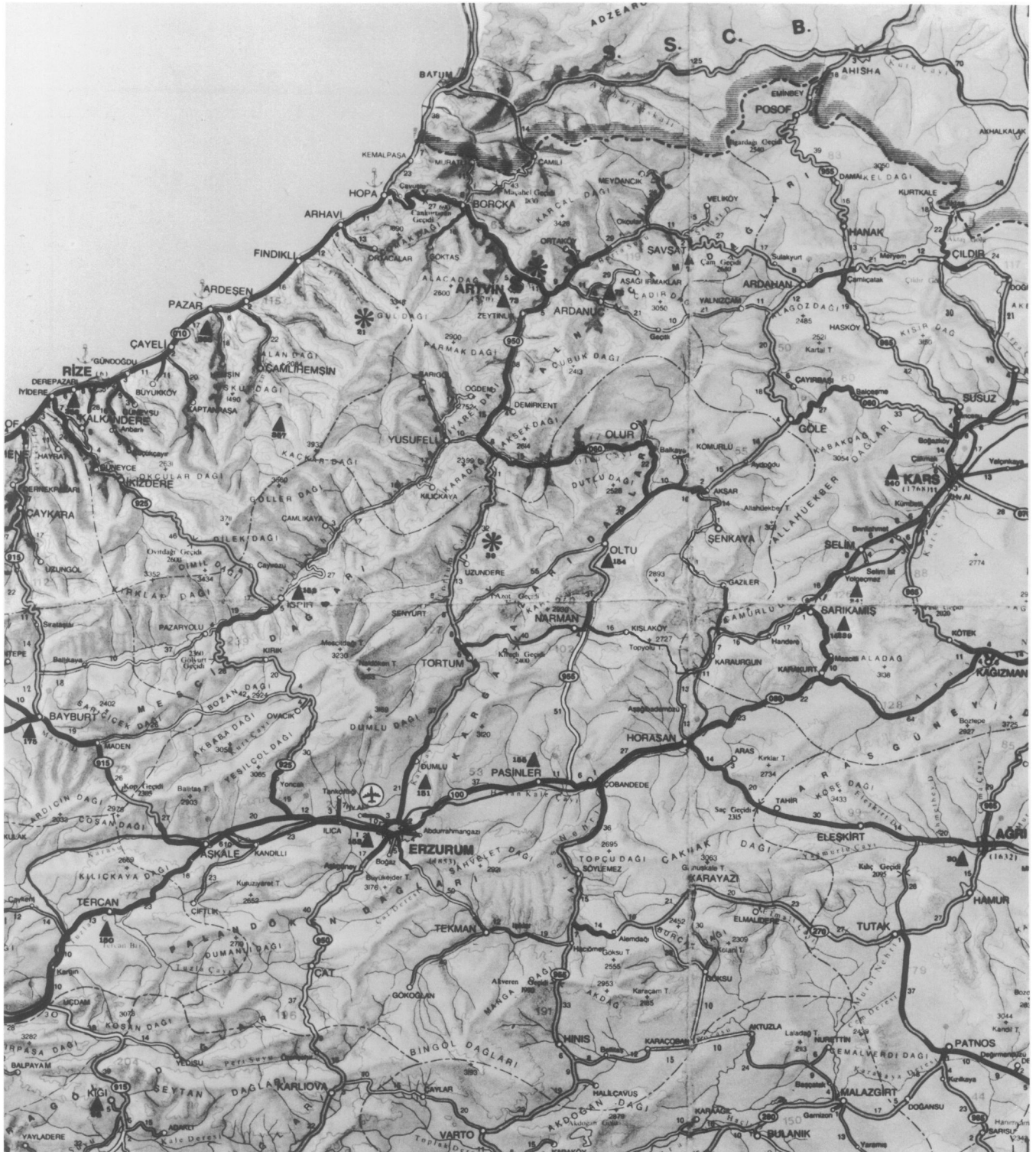
⁸Pliny, *NH* 6.10.25 f and Strabo, 11.3.2. Cf. Second Preliminary Report, note 84; Plutarch, *Pompey* 34.2.

⁹N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, trans. and rev. N. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1970), 257 f, 466 f note 15; G. Garitte,

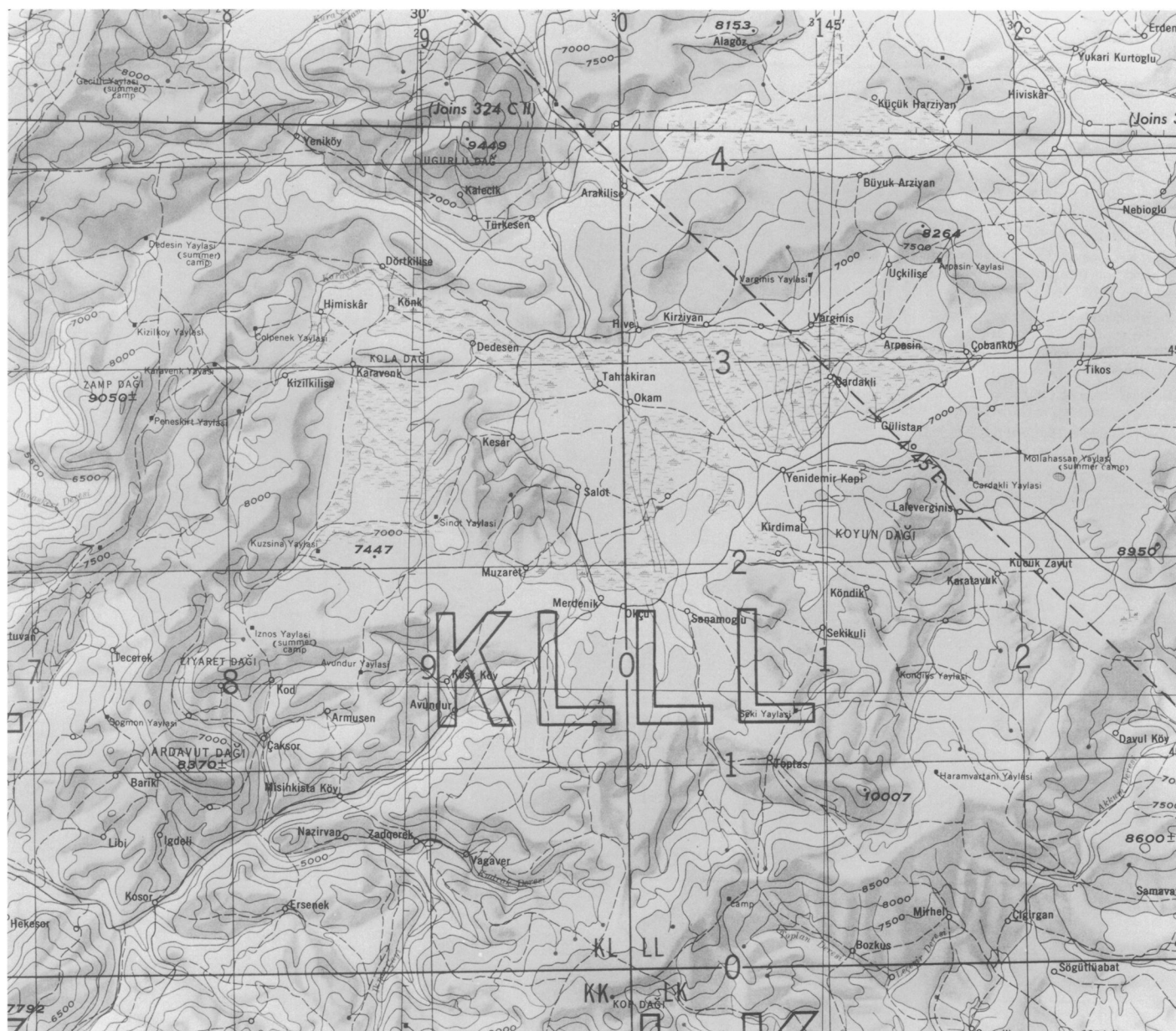
Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange, ST 127 (Vatican City, 1946), 103 (here the reference to Koł is derived from an early 12th-century Greek recension).

¹⁰Toumanoff, *Studies*, 254.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 92 f note 133, 456; "Mučeničestvo otrokov' Kolaicev," in *Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii*, V, ed. N. Marr (St. Petersburg, 1903), 55 f, 59 f; M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Literatur*, ST 185 (Vatican City, 1955), 402 f.



2 Türkiye Karayolları Haritası (detail), 1:1,150,000 (revised 1981)



3 Map of Kola (detail), USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart, Sarikamis, 324 CIIIG—Turkey, 1:250,000 (St. Louis, 1954)



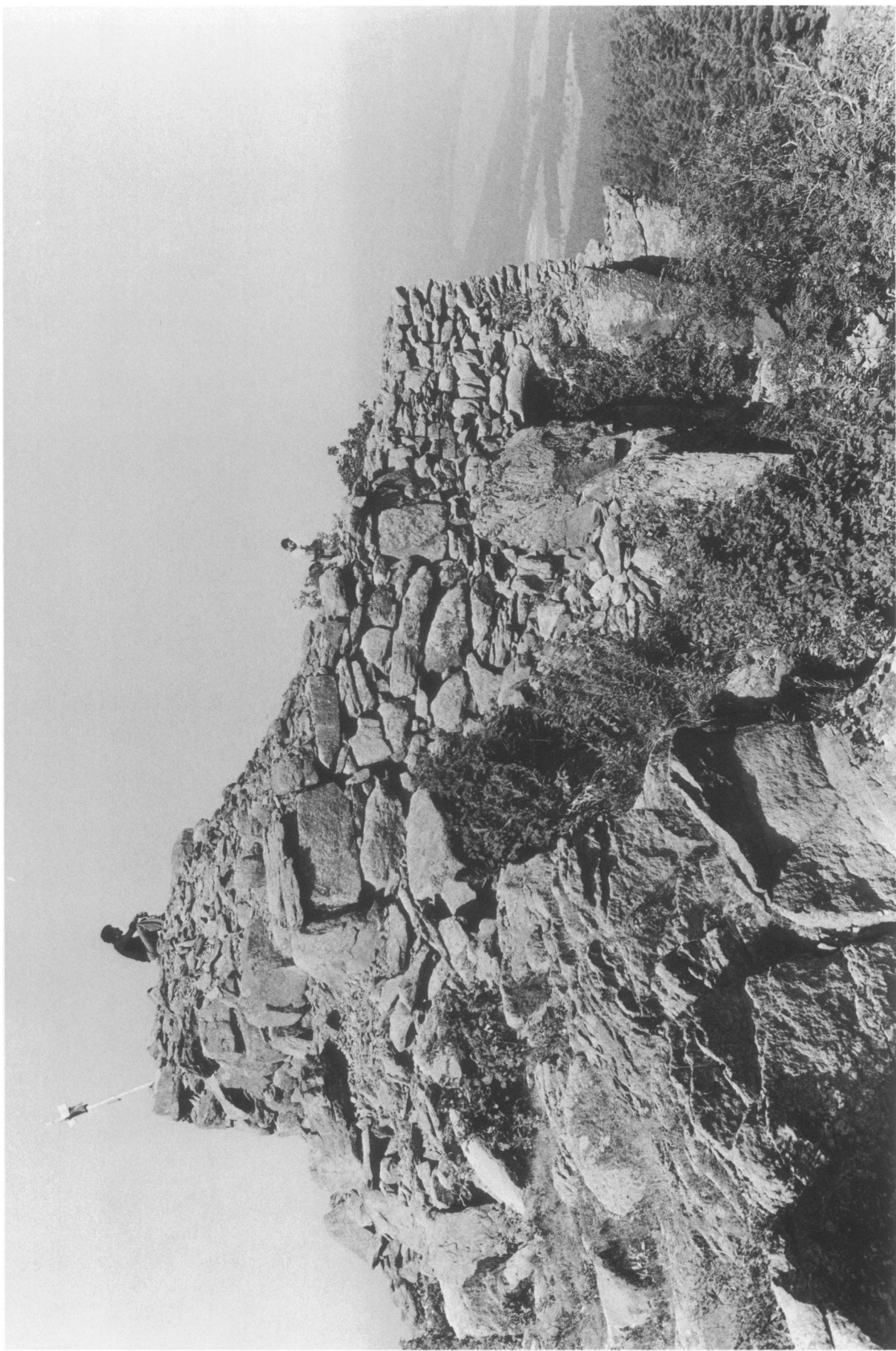
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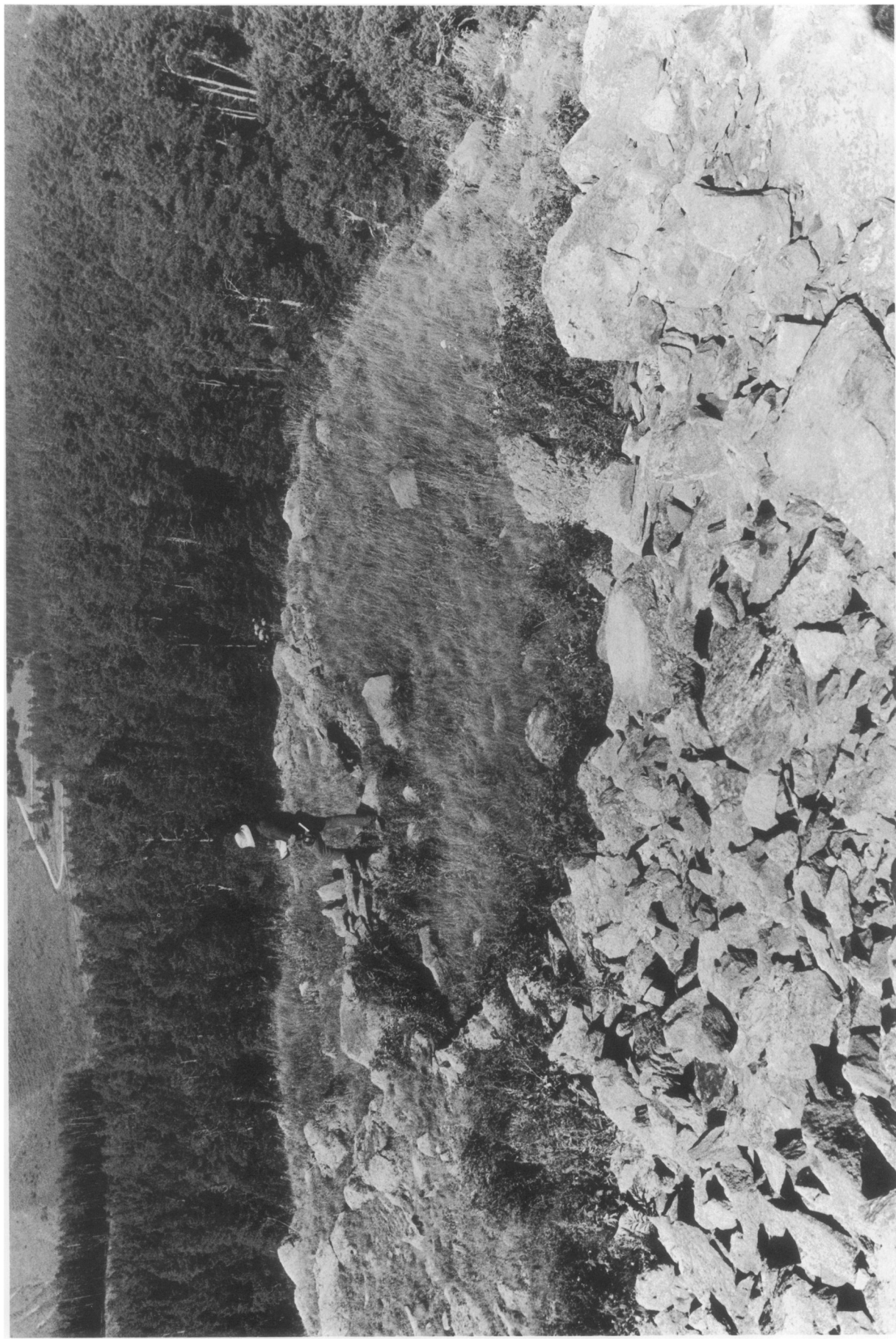
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4 Turkey, Göle. Plan of Oğlu Kalesi



5 Oğlu Kalesi, looking southwest at the exterior of A



6 Oğlu Kalesi, looking west at the interior of B



7 Oğlu Kalesi, looking north at the exterior of the south wall of A



8 Oğlu Kalesi, looking south at the interior of the south wall of A



9 Oğlu Kalesi, looking northwest from the interior of A at the jamb of one of the north windows

Yet the Mt'avari said to them: "they are your sons (children), you have the authority. Do to them all that you wish." Then they said to him: "Give the order and come with us, and we shall crush them with stones so that others will not imitate them and be made into Christians."

მაშინ განაჩინეს დღე იგი ლუაწლისად წმიდათა მათ მოწამეთად: და გამოვიდა მთავარი იგი. და მისთანა სიმრავლემ ერისად ურიცხვ.

Then they designated the day of the contest for the holy martyrs, and the Mt'avari along with the countless multitude of the people went out . . .

The Georgian governor of the district is undoubtedly the final arbiter in disputes that involve the life and death of adults, but the jurisdiction over the nine children of Kola rests with their immediate guardians. Unlike the Jewish priests with the prefect Pilate, the elders here insisted on the physical presence of the Mt'avari to give a legal sanction to their acts.¹²

At some period prior to the eighth century Kola reverts to Armenian control since it is listed within the lands of Hayk^c in the *Aṣṣarhaṣ'oyc^c*. As the Armenian Koł, this valley became the northernmost *gawar* in the province of Tayk^c.¹³ Lewond implies that in 788 Koł is still part of Armenia for it is mentioned as being near (or on) the Georgian frontier.¹⁴ By the early ninth century the vale is firmly within the realm of Ashot I (the son of Adarnase I, founder of the Georgian Bagratids) and appears to stay for a considerable period in Kartvelian hands. Kola was certainly among the possessions that Bagrat I (842/3–876) passed on to his heirs.¹⁵

¹² J. Karst, *Code Géorgien du Roi Vakhtang VI, Commentaire*, I.2, Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici (Straßburg, 1935), 175 f, 245 note 4; idem, *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne* (Paris, 1934), 71–73.

¹³ H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (Straßburg, 1904), 355–59, 455; Adontz, *Armenia*, 173, 436 note 20; S. Ermyan, *Hayastanā ast "Aṣṣarhaṣ'oyc^c"-i* (Erevan, 1968), 59, 63, 84, 118; Pseudo-Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Aṣṣarhaṣ'oyc^c*, trans. A. Soukry (Venice, 1881), 38, 46; "Koł," *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran* 5 (Erevan, 1979), 529. The composition of the *Aṣṣarhaṣ'oyc^c* predates the 690s; see my Second Preliminary Report, note 111.

¹⁴ Lewond, *History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, trans., intro., and comm. Z. Arzoumanian (Philadelphia, 1982), 149; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 498. The borders of Koł are mentioned as mere geographical features during the period of Arab occupation; see Asofik (Stephen of Taron), *Patmu'w'n tiez-erakan*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1885), 134.

¹⁵ Toumanoff, *Studies*, 486, 489, 492 notes 247 and 249. If we can accept the exaggerated claims of Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'i (*History of Armenia*, trans. and comm. K. Maksoudian, diss. [Columbia University, 1973], 135, 149, 323, 330) regarding the domains supposedly controlled by King Smbat I of Armenia, then Kola may have briefly come under his control in the last decade of the 9th century. However, the more weighty evidence

Kola probably was counted among the lands of David Curopalate (d. 1000), but may have fallen briefly under the control of Basil II.¹⁶ In 1021 King Gēorgi attacked Oltu unsuccessfully and was pursued by Basil through Kola. After 1025 we have evidence of a strong Georgian presence there and new construction.¹⁷ David the Builder (1089–1125) is said to have cleared out Turkish invaders from Ĵawaxk^c and Kola. This valley seems to have played no significant role in Seljuk or Ottoman history. At first it was placed in the Eyâlet of Çıldır;¹⁸ after the Russian withdrawal in 1920 the vale was administered from Kars. Between 1701 and 1705 we know that the insubordinate paşa of Kola was put to death.¹⁹ In the eighteenth century the Georgian bishop of Kola resided in the monastic complex of Dadech(i) (the modern Dört Kilise; fig. 1 in the Second Preliminary Report), about 20 km northwest of Okam.²⁰

Relying on the information supplied by the local herdsmen, I undertook a field survey of the pre-modern military sites in the vale. Although I was unable to explore every possible lead, it appears that the valley has at least two fortifications, both of which are located on the southern perimeter. Sağoman Kalesi, which is adjacent to Ziyaret Dağ at a lofty point between the Oltu-Penek Valley²¹ and the vale of Göle, was placed off limits by the Turkish army during both of my visits. It is certain that Sağoman is the "Koumourlou" described by Wakhoucht.²² This "citadelle forte et inaccessible" he believes to be Bedchis-Tzikhe.²³ About 11 km southeast of Göle there is a small fort on the sum-

suggests that Kola did not leave the Iberian sphere until A.D. 1000.

According to al-Mas'ūdī, the Kur River comes from the land of King Gurgun of Georgia; see V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1958), 164 f.

¹⁶ Toumanoff, *Studies*, 497 note 269; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze*, 161, 165.

¹⁷ *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, *Histoire ancienne*, trans. M. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1849), 306, 309 f; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze*, 163.

¹⁸ D. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden, 1972), map 31.

¹⁹ *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II.1, *Histoire moderne*, trans. M. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1856), 234; Wakhoucht, *Description*, 107.

²⁰ The location of these sites is slightly confused by Wakhoucht (*Description*, 107 and map 1); Tarchnišvili, 71.

²¹ First Preliminary Report, 15 ff.

²² Wakhoucht, 107. The precise location of Sağoman Kalesi is given on the Deutsche Heereskarte, above, note 6.

²³ It is remotely possible that Sağoman is the fortress of T'z'ladp'et; see N. Oikonomidēs, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^e–XI^e siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial," *XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Rapports*, II (Bucharest, 1971), 75 f.

mit of Oğlu Dağ. Oğlu Kalesi proved to be one of my most important discoveries in the Marchlands.

Oğh

To reach Oğlu Kalesi one must hire a jeep and an experienced driver in Göle. Motoring south-southeast past a Kurdish *yayla*, our driver created his own trail by following arroyos until he reached the base of Oğlu Dağ (alt. 2,629 m).

What is immediately apparent from the plan and masonry of this small fort is that this site is not a medieval construction. At the extreme north edge of the summit stands the somewhat trapezoidal perimeter of a keep-like structure (A on Fig. 4). It is the largest building in the Oğlu complex. Because of the uniformly steep cliffs below the north, east, and west flanks of A (Fig. 5), the walls average 2 m in thickness. At the south, where the lines of access are quite direct and easy, the wall is almost 5 m thick. Directly below and to the west of A are the outlines of building B (Fig. 6) and tower(?) C. Farther down the slope to the south and west are the fragmentary remains of dozens of other buildings. These were probably part of a settlement; there is no evidence that the whole site was surrounded by a continuous circuit wall.

The masonry throughout the entire complex consists of a dry wall construction ("trockenmauerwerk"). The walls are composed of an exterior (Fig. 7) and an interior (Fig. 8) facing with a packed core of dry, uncut rubble and rock chips (Fig. 5). In those areas where the facing is not wedged between natural crevices in the rock, the attempts at aligning the stones in neat courses meet with varying degrees of success. Almost cyclopean boulders, which are roughly cut in rectangular shapes, are used as quoins (Fig. 5) for the lower courses of the exterior facing and as headers elsewhere (Fig. 7). The soffit for a window (or postern) below the northeast corner of A (Fig. 5, center right; Fig. 4) is a slightly bowed monolith. The jambs of the two straight-sided windows in the north wall consist of flat, horizontally aligned rocks (Fig. 9). Similar stones are used for the interior facing of A (Fig. 8) and to frame the four rectangular niches, although in this area the stones are tilted on their diagonal axes in a herringbone pattern. Surprisingly, the walls maintain on the average a consistent height of 1.7 m and consequently they mirror the abrupt rise in the rocky foundation of A from north to south (Fig. 5). The short height and broad tops of these almost untapered

walls indicate that they functioned as a socle (i.e., a foundation) for a more extensive (and now vanished) mud brick barrier above. Considering the numerous examples of fortified buildings (within a 300 km radius to the east and south) that are almost identical to A at Oğlu, I am obliged to conclude that this site is an Urartian construction.²⁴ Part of the mud brick facade must have disappeared in the medieval period, for in certain areas (Fig. 9) just the tops of the walls have been sealed with the same mixture of limestone mortar and rock chips that is the principal adhesive of Armenian and Georgian fortifications.

In the mid-ninth century B.C. the Urartian kingdom of Van was devastated by the Assyrians invading from the south.²⁵ Recovery was slow, but eventually the Van region was refortified and prospered. However, a new threat from the Caucasus in the form of Cimmerians and Scythians forced King Rusa I (735–713) and his son Argishti II (713–685) to extend their defensible frontier to Erzincan (Altuntepe) at the northwest and to Horosan at the north.²⁶ The land of the Diauehe,²⁷ which supposedly bordered on the regions east of Kars, was occupied by Scythian hordes. The Urartians refer to one of these groups of invaders as "Kulha," which ultimately may be the origin of the Georgian toponym Kola.²⁸ Since no Urartian forts have yet been found to the north and west of Göle, Oğlu Kalesi must be a frontier post. Its location is most suitable for watching traffic on the Göle-Oltu highway and communicating information to the south. For this reason the fort was reoccupied in medieval times, probably without a civilian settlement. However, its new occupants may have been

²⁴C. Burney, "Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region," *AS* 7 (1957), 37 ff; idem, "A First Season of Excavation at the Urartian Citadel of Kayalidere," *AS* 16 (1966), 55–111; idem and G. Lawson, "Measured Plans of Urartian Fortresses," *AS* 10 (1960), 177 ff; W. Kleiss, "Urartäische Plätze in Iranisch-Azerbaidjan," *IM* 18 (1968), 1–44; idem, *Bastam*, I (Berlin, 1979), 11 ff, pls. 7–19; idem, "Darstellungen Urartäischer Architektur," *AMIran*, N.F. 15 (1982), 53–77; E. Bilgiç and B. Ögün, "1964 Adilcevaz Kef Kalesi kazıları," *Anadolu* 8 (1964), 65–92; T. Özgüç, "Altuntepe kazıları," *Belleten* 25 (1961), 253–67; B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu*, trans. J. Hogarth (London, 1969), 69 ff, 133 ff.

²⁵H. Russell, "Shalmaneser's Campaign to Urartu in 856 B.C. and the Historical Geography of Eastern Anatolia according to the Assyrian Sources," *AS* 34 (1984), 171, 177 ff.

²⁶Piotrovskii, *Urartu*, 84–132.

²⁷Diauehe may be cognate to Dayaeni; see Russell, "Shalmaneser's Campaign," 186 f and note 56; note 44 below.

²⁸W. Allen, "Ex Ponto V. Heniochi-Aea-Hayasa," *BK* 8–9 (1960), 80–83. Cf. note 3 above and R. Hewsen, "Ptolemy's Chapter on Armenia: An Investigation of His Toponyms," *REArm*, n.s. 16 (1982), 120 f.

concerned with incursions from the east and south.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MARCHLANDS

In this preliminary assessment of the Marchlands I have made a conscious attempt to depart from certain methods of orthodox historiography. The expected approach for an evaluation of the marches would have involved simply the careful arrangement, comparison, and analysis of appropriate references in texts. Problems regarding toponyms would be solved by applying geographical terms in the manuscripts to contemporary topographical charts. If toponyms in the latter have significant phonetic similarities to the names of ancient and medieval sites, then the physical dimensions and locations of historical events could be deduced. Any assessment of the general topography might be relegated to a supplemental map which displays a few key rivers and places the toponyms in their relative positions.

Because so much of what is significant about the Marchlands in northeast Turkey is topographical and because the references from our premodern sources are neither as specific nor abundant as for the surrounding regions, I decided to stress the geographical imperative and hiked through as many of its valleys as possible during two field seasons (1977, 1983). Also, I wanted to examine the architecture critically and extract its untapped potential as a historical source. The final shape that any particular type of building assumes is always a response to dozens of psychological and environmental factors. Despite the limitations of money, time, function, location, construction materials, engineering skills, and the idiosyncrasies of architects and patrons, the churches and fortresses of the Greeks, Armenians, and Georgians tend in most cases to possess architectural features that are peculiar to their cultures. Even in the absence of inscriptions and specific references in manuscripts, it is possible to identify the origin of any particular edifice. When the spacial distribution of these sites is evaluated with the topography, one can illuminate and even supplement the shadowy and often fragmentary historical picture in our texts while offering new explanations for change or the lack of it.

"Marchland" denotes a region that functions as a boundary or frontier between two countries. The word march is derived from the French *marche*; originally of Teutonic origin, it appears in Old En-

glish as *mearc* and in modern English as "mark."²⁹ The term is first used to describe the borders of the Carolingian Empire in the eighth century. Thereafter districts in Italy, France, Prussia, Scotland, and Wales became famous as marches.³⁰ The march is usually a zone between the major settlements of two combatants. Occasionally, the dimensions of this region are determined by a negotiated settlement, but in many cases a sparsely inhabited mountainous terrain provides a natural buffer which can be supplemented by strategically placed garrisons. It is the latter that characterizes the region of my three Preliminary Reports. The term Marchlands has been applied to northeast Turkey only in recent publications and often with little or no attention to the geographical constraints imposed by the concept.³¹ W. Allen claims that "all the march-country," which is a "confused mass of mountains and valleys," is the Georgian region of Samts'khe.³² However, the traditional lands of Samts'khe are located north of Ardahan and east of the Arsiani Mountains, outside the region of my Preliminary Reports and within the traditional boundaries of Iberia.³³ C. Toumanoff avoids

²⁹J. Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*, rev. F. Schönberger (Vienna, 1811), 72 ff; F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 20th ed., ed. W. Mitzka (Berlin, 1967), 462; *Oxford English Dictionary* 6 (Oxford, 1933), 154.

³⁰*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 17–18 (New York, 1911), 688 ff; Shakespeare, *Henry V*, i.2.140, (3) *Henry VI*, ii.1.140.

³¹M. Kiessling, "Hvóoxoi," *RE* 8 (1913), 263; W. Allen, "The March-Lands of Georgia," *GJ* 74 (1929), 135 ff; Toumanoff, *Studies*, map 3; D. Lang, *The Georgians* (New York, 1966), 105 ff. Markwart's attempt to assess this area was only partially successful, since he saw just a single border and not a three-dimensional march (*Eränšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaç'i* [Berlin, 1901], 116, 168 ff).

As I discuss in my narrative, the Marchlands consists of a series of interconnecting valley-marches which together form a high mountainous perimeter along the borders of various nations. Because the historical geography of these marches can only be evaluated as an undivided unit, I am treating the term "Marchlands" as a collective singular. It should also be understood that near and within the historical regions of Georgia and Armenia there are other marches worthy of investigation which are beyond the scope of this study.

³²Allen, "March-Lands," 137; cf. B. Limper, *Die Mongolen und die christlichen Völker des Kaukasus*, diss. (University of Köln, 1980), 32 f.

³³Toumanoff, *Studies*, 103 note 159, 445–47, 490, 492; Wakhoucht, *Description*, 95; Ch. Badridzé, "Contribution à l'histoire des relations entre le Tao et Byzance (les années 70 du X^e siècle)," *BK* 33 (1975), 186 note 74; Second Preliminary Report, 45. It is only in the very broad sense of including Samts'khe in Mesxet'i/Moschica that the boundaries of the former can extend into the Marchlands; see Wakhoucht, *Description*, 77 and maps; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 183, 439. In the 13th century and from the late 15th to the early 16th centuries much of the Marchlands was administered from Samts'khe, but the latter is actually a small, defined province. Consult V. Beridze, *Arxitek-*

any discussion of the specific geography of the Marchlands, but his map entitled the "Armeno-Georgian Marchlands" extends from Bayburt and Bardani in the south to the Phasis (Rioni) River in the north.³⁴ Unfortunately, specific borders are not drawn on his chart.

Unlike most marches, which divide only two neighbors, this Anatolian example was surrounded by at least five nations, principally: Kolchis, Iberia (both of which became the core of a unified Georgia in the medieval period), Armenia, the late Roman Empire/Byzantium (including subject tribes), and Lazistan. Like spokes radiating from the center of a wheel, the mountain passes became highways whereby neighbors could cross into and settle the Marchlands. The result of these mixed migrations was that this massive buffer zone was never unified ethnically or called by a single name. Despite these limitations, it is possible not only to determine the history of the Marchlands, but to draw its borders using the information in my preliminary surveys combined with a careful analysis of previous scholarship. By the late nineteenth century improvements in ground survey techniques and cartography resulted in reasonably accurate topographical charts of eastern Anatolia. To illustrate Macler's translation and commentary for a seventeenth-century topographical study by Hakob Karnec'i, R. Chichmanian drew a somewhat stylized map of northeast Turkey (Fig. 1) based on the previous work of H. Kiepert.³⁵ Although Karnec'i mentions only a few sites in the Marchlands, the latter is geographically the most distinct unit on the map. The east flank of the Marchlands is an almost vertical line of mountains positioned midway between 42° and 43° longitude. This barrier terminates at Sarikhamich (Sarıkamış) where another chain of mountains extends west above the Passin (Pasinler) Valley to Ovacık, northwest of Erzurum. This southern flank of the Marchlands is completed at the southwest by a series of peaks which cross the meandering headwaters of the Djorokh (Çoruh) to join the Pontic range near the city of İspir. From this area the Pontic Alps form the entire eastern side of

the Marches until they diminish at a point southwest of Batoum (Batum). Although the units (or "lands") that compose this region are delineated by mountains, the perimeter of this conglomerate is consistently higher and more united than any of its subordinate parts.

Spanning a period of over twenty-five years from the late 1930s, cartographers from Germany, Britain, and the United States produced a series of integrated maps at a scale of 1:200,000 for eastern Turkey (e.g., Fig. 3).³⁶ More general charts (e.g., Fig. 2) based on these maps show quite distinctly that the almost unbroken mountainous perimeter of the Marchlands lies entirely within the present borders of Turkey. Beginning in a clockwise direction from İspir, whose location on the Çoruh marks the only practical entrance for vehicular traffic into the Marchlands from the east or southeast, the long elevated spur of Cimil Dağ connects the lower Çoruh Valley to the summit of the Pontic Alps near Dilek Dağ. The unbroken line of Alps is oriented on a northeast axis and is punctuated occasionally by sharp peaks (e.g., Tatos, Goller, Kaçkar, Bulut, Gül, and Çomak) until it plunges into the Black Sea 10 km north of Kemalpaşa Köy (Makrai) on the border of the modern republic of Soviet Georgia. Through the medieval period most of the regions controlled by the Lazic tribes were on the left (i.e., north) flank of the Pontic Alps. The Hopa Suyu cuts a path through the west flank of the Çomak Dağları and forms the most southerly of the two northwest entrances into the Marchlands. It is near the estuary of the Çoruh just southeast of Batum that a paved road traverses the northwest corner of the Marchlands toward the eventual junction at Borçka. The entire southern border of Kolchis, and consequently the northern border of the Marchlands, is formed by a series of peaks on the southern flank of the Açarı (Açara/Adzhari) Suyu. This river feeds into the Çoruh 22 km southeast of Batum. Since the modern Turko-Soviet border is aligned with the same peaks, it is impossible, because of present political conditions, to evaluate this frontier. In the eighth and ninth centuries, when Georgian clerics de-

tura Samcxe 13th–16thc. (Tbilisi, 1955), 242; idem, "L'architecture géorgienne de la limite des XIII–XIV^e siècles," *Rayonnement grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982), 484; Pitcher, *Geography*, 140.

³⁴Toumanoff, *Studies*, 179, 186, 470, map 3.

³⁵H. Karnec'i, *Erzeroum ou Topographie de la haute Arménie*, trans. and comm. F. Macler (Paris, 1919), map.

³⁶Deutsche Heereskarte, Blatt-Nr. C–XV, 1:200,000, "Oltu," 1941; idem, Blatt-Nr. C–XIV, 1:200,000, "İspir," 1941; idem, Blatt-Nr. B–XIV, 1:200,000, "Rize," 1941; idem, Blatt-Nr. B–XV, 1:200,000, "Artvin," 1941; idem, Blatt-Nr. D–XIV, 1:200,000, "Erzurum," 1941; Maps of the War Office (U.K.), Sheet C–15, 1:200,000, "Pasinler," 1941 (revised by U.S. Army Map Service, November 1943); idem, Sheet B–16, 1:200,000, "Kars," 1943.

scended from the north into the Şavšet'i and Klarjet'i to construct monasteries, the psychological impact of this mountainous barrier was certainly diminished. The eastern terminus of the northern border of the Marchlands is at the Arsiani Mountains (west of Posof). South from this point the eastern flank is simply formed along the spine of the Arsiani until they terminate at Harasan Dağ (fig. 1 in the Second Preliminary Report). From here the barrier pivots to the east along Alagöz Dağ (Fig. 2) and then turns to the Kabak Dağları (above Kars) to form the concave eastern half of the vale of Kola. From the Kabak the mountainous border snakes to the south over the back of the Allahüekber Dağları, whence it pivots in a southwesterly direction at Çamurlu Dağ and across to Topyolu Tepe. Directly south of the latter (and above Pasinler) the line of peaks runs in a westward direction as far as Kargapazar Dağ to form the northern flank of the Basean Valley, through which the Aras flows. To the southwest of Kargapazar is the city and plain of Erzurum. The mountain directly north of the latter, Dumlu Dağ, forms the bulbous southwest corner of the Marchlands. The deep ravine, which divides Kargapazar from Dumlu, accommodates the only major road in modern times on the south flank of the Marchlands, the Erzurum-Tortum-Artvin highway. A much more difficult trail just east of Pasinler (highway 955) ascends the west flank of Cilligül Dağ and joins the Tortum-Oltu road near Narman. Dumlu Dağ marks the point where the March boundary shifts abruptly to the northwest along the backs of Naldöken Tepe and Mescitdağ Tepe until it merges with the Mescit Dağları; from the latter a spur descends to İspir completing the formidable west barrier and insuring the isolation of the area.

The political and cultural orientation of any region is always determined by the nature of the topography.³⁷ It is no accident that the two civilizations that had the most profound impact on Armenian society, Syria and Iran, were the recipients of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Aras. These three rivers and their sprawling tributaries not only encompassed and watered Armenia, but they oriented its commerce and cultural intercourse to the south and east. In the adjacent Marchlands watercourses surge into the Çoruh, which in turn

flows north toward the lands of Georgia. This explains why the majority of the March inhabitants were Kartvelian speakers throughout the ancient, late antique, and medieval periods. Within this region's lofty borders there is a paucity of rain and flat terrain; the chance occurrence of both seldom produces land suitable for agriculture since the rocky soil has few nutrients. With the exception of Lake Tortum and the areas east of Olur and west of Yusufeli, the environment sustains few dense conifer forests. Despite its clear orientation to Georgia and the proximity of other powerful neighbors, this landlocked zone, which produced no surplus food nor any valuable commodity of trade, attracted few settlers.³⁸ To a large extent the social impact of the Turkish invasions bypassed this region because the nomads could find little fodder for their sheep. Even today the population within the Marchlands is smaller than in any equivalent region of Turkey, and a large quantity of sheep, as well as produce, has to be imported from Erzurum, Kars, and Hopa. The isolation of this region is compounded by a certain irony in that the high *outer* flanks of the southern and eastern borders of the Marchlands provide sufficient runoff and divert enough rain to give rise to three of the great rivers of eastern Anatolia: the Euphrates, Aras, and Kur(a). The first, called the Karaçay before it joins a major tributary of the Fırat (= Euphrates), is formed on the west side of Kargapazar Dağ; the second, initially called the Hasan Kale Çay before it joins the major Aras tributary at Çobandede, flows east through the Pasinler (Basean) Ovası from the east flank of that same mountain; and the third meanders north from Kola and turns at Kintsvişi on its long southern journey. All three rivers are navigable waterways, whereas no section of the Çoruh (below Borçka) is passable by a flat-bottomed barge for more than 10 km.³⁹ Although the Marchlands is strategically located, premodern traffic from Trabzon and Bayburt to Georgia and northern Iran (whether it consisted of an invading army or trade caravans) was routed around the outer edges of this barrier. Despite its unified appearance on the exterior, internal ranges of mountains formed pockets where vari-

³⁷ Cf. D. Obolensky, "Byzantine Frontier Zones and Cultural Exchanges," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1971 [1974]), 305–13.

³⁸ The northern extremities of the Marchlands as well as the mountainous areas in Soviet Georgia seem to be more productive with respect to agriculture. See G. Tschitaia, "Sur l'agriculture de montagne en Géorgie," *BK* 15–16 (1963), 51 ff.

³⁹ Northeast of İspir and northwest of Artvin I have seen small rowboats travel long distances. Unfortunately, the rapids create too much instability for heavy, commercial boats.

ous tribes and neighboring civilizations had sparsely settled. A caravan insured of safety when entering at one point may not find equivalent hospitality in other areas of the Marchlands. From 1829 to 1914 the Turkish and Russian troops⁴⁰ relearned what the fleeing battalions of Xenophon's *Anabasis* discovered in the fourth century B.C.—that the high cliffs of this desolate region provided at every turn a convenient place for ambush.

Prior to the sixteenth-century Ottoman consolidation of the Marchlands, the region was unified only once during the golden age of the Iberian Bagratids. It was during this brief period of Georgian hegemony (ca. 820–1000) that Ardanuç became the epicenter of a direct and profitable trade route with Trabzon.⁴¹ This metamorphosis involved a peculiar paradox in that prior to the late eighth century the denizens of the traditional lands of Georgia (Kolchis and Iberia to the north and northeast of the Marchlands) always regarded the southern sparsely populated regions which they periodically controlled as slightly backward and potentially hostile, despite the dominant presence of Kartvelian speakers.⁴² As poor relatives in exile, the Iberian Bagratids used the Marchlands as a political and military base to unite many of the divided Georgian kingdoms into a monolithic state. Perhaps out of a sense of geographic loyalty, they not only maintained their administrative centers in the Marchlands but under their patronage ignited an explosion of artistic creativity which resulted in the construction of the great basilicas at Bana, Oşk, Haho, and İshan. To this day these churches, as well as the magnificent fortresses, represent the apogee of Georgian civilization in eastern Anatolia. When the Greeks converted Tao and Tayk^c into the theme of Iberia, the political center of Georgia moved north, as did most of the Georgian nobility. To better understand how the Marchlands holds a unique position in Anatolian history,⁴³ it is necessary to review the principal pre-Ottoman accounts of this area.

⁴⁰ Allen and Muratoff, *Battlefields*, 249 ff.

⁴¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins, DOT 1 (Washington, D.C., 1967), 214–22; H. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. N. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1965), 145 f, 155.

⁴² Georgii Merčul', *Žitie Sb. Grigorija Xandztiškago*, intro., trans., and comm. N. Marr (St. Petersburg, 1911), 91 ff (trans.).

⁴³ For a general view of the rise and consolidation of the Georgian and Armenian states see C. Toumanoff, "Introduction to Christian Caucasian History," *Trad* 15 (1959), 1–106.

Ancient

With the exception of Oğlı Kalesi, we have no reliable information on any Bronze Age or pre-classical settlements in the Marchlands;⁴⁴ modern archeologists have never been permitted to excavate in this region. The first eyewitness account of the Marchlands comes from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon; he describes in the early fourth century B.C. just how the Greek forces retreated to the Black Sea from their ill-fated expedition against Artaxerxes II. At a location in Armenia west of Lake Van (and probably north of Muş and the modern Varto, Fig. 2) they proceeded along the Phasis River for seven *stathmoi* at a pace of five *parasangai* a day. From the point where they completed this journey they marched two *stathmoi*, equivalent to ten *parasangai*, to a pass leading into a plain. At this pass they came face to face with indigenous Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians (4.6.4–5): Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. Because the *idée-fixe* of the retreat was the Euxine shore, we should expect the Greeks to follow only those routes that lead directly north. Some have assumed that Xenophon actually marched *east* along the banks of the Aras from the vale of Pasinler to Kars.⁴⁵ The modern toponym Pasinler is derived from the classical Armenian Basianē/Phasianē, and it is almost certain

⁴⁴ A few have speculated on the occupation of part of this region by the people of Aea, Diauehe (Dayaeni), He(n)i, Igani, Hayaša, and Azzi. See: E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 118 f; P. Ushakov, "K pokhodam Urartitsev v Zakavkazye v IX i VIII vv. do SZ," *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 2.16 (1946), 31 ff; E. Forrer, "Hajasa-Azzi," *Caucasica* 9 (1931), 1–24; F. Cornelius, "Neue Arbeiten zur hethitischen Geographie," *Anatolica* 1 (1967), 62–77; I. Diakonoff, *The Pre-history of the Armenian People*, trans. L. Jennings (New York, 1984), 48 ff; R. Hewsen, "North Central Armenia I: The Principality of Tayk^c" (forthcoming); J. Garstang, "Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor," *AJA* 47.1 (1943), 47 ff; idem and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London, 1959), 32–39; A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, Kleinasien*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1957), 102, 190; cf. K. Salia, *History of the Georgian Nation* (Paris, 1983), 13 ff. There is simply insufficient evidence to prove that the territory of the Igani in the 9th/10th century Urartian inscriptions is the land of the classical period Heniochoi (i.e., the Marchlands). Also see K. Salia, "Origine des tribus géorgiennes au sein de l'ensemble Ibéro-Hittite," *BK* 37 (1979), 216–28.

⁴⁵ M. Cary and E. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London, 1929), 140; J. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge, 1948), 84; W. Tarn, *CAH* 6 (1927), 4–19.

that the Aras bore the name Phasis in this region.⁴⁶ The recent assumption that the Greeks believed this to be the great Phasis of north Kolchis, which empties into the Black Sea below the Caucasus, is unsupportable since Xenophon makes no mention of this association nor does he indicate he is lost. I believe that Xenophon did march along the Aras, which is called the Phasis near its second source, but in a *northerly* direction. The southern half of the road connecting Muş (via Varto) to Çobandede in the Pasinler Valley crosses dozens of small streams oriented on an east-west axis. But the moment one descends north over the Akveren Geçidi, runoffs from the Manga Dağ and Ak Dağ quickly converge to form the Aras (Fig. 2, just north of Hınıs on highway 955). From this pass to the junction with the Hasan Kale Çayı in the Pasinler Valley the Phasis (i.e., Aras) and its adjoining road extend about 85 km. The average ratio of *stathmoi* to *parasangai* for Xenophon's army in northeast Turkey (Ana. 4.5.1–4.8.22) is about 1:5.2. Thus the Greeks spent slightly over seven days to make the trip along the Phasis. In 1977 I made the same trek with a well-furnished backpack in four days. Considering the logistics of moving a large army along this meandering route, a journey of one week should be expected. At the modern Çobandede, where the river abruptly changes its course to the east, the Greeks naturally sought to continue north. The only pass that leads into a plain and is roughly a two-day march from Çobandede extends along the minor road directly north from Bekbad (between Pasinler and Çobandede) through the Cilligül Pass and into the Narman Valley.⁴⁷ To encounter indigenous Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians in this pass would not be unusual. The Phasians obviously controlled the long valley to the north of Cilligül Dağ,⁴⁸ the Chalybians inhabited the regions south of Dumlu Dağ and east of Mescit Dağ,⁴⁹ and the Taochians (probably the preclassical Dayaeni), deriving their Kartvelian name from the region on the north flank of the

upper Oltu Suyu (the medieval Taoskari), lived in the valleys of Oltu, Narman, and Tortum. The Taochians, who inhabited this region for over 2,300 years, are mentioned in the Yonjalu inscription.⁵⁰ This pass into the Marchlands marked the southern limit of a region outside of Persian control, where all intruders, regardless of affiliation, were swiftly challenged.⁵¹

After the Greeks outmaneuvered and routed the local militia, they advanced into the country of the Taochians five *stathmoi*, thirty *parasangai* (Ana. 4.7.1 ff). The Greeks found a form of habitation which they had not seen hitherto, merely a series of strongholds on precipitous outcrops stocked with provisions. The population, together with its cattle and sheep, could gather within these places in times of emergency. These sites appear to be natural formations without masoned walls; normally, the Taochians lived in collapsible tents. Since towns and houses were not to be found, the Greeks laid siege to an unnamed stronghold in search of food. It is possible to guess the identity of this area. Xenophon's advance scouts found that the Sivri Suyu in the Narman Valley flowed northeast into the Oltu-Penek Valley and potentially away from the Black Sea. Considering that they marched thirty *parasangai*, the Hellenic army probably turned west around the south flank of Kara Dağ through the Kireçli Geçidi to Tortum.⁵² The stronghold mentioned here may be one of many fortified sites in that region. The only defense the Taochians employed was to roll stones from the precipitous heights. When the site was captured most of the natives committed suicide. From the land of the Taochians they marched seven *stathmoi*,

⁴⁶ Adontz, *Armenia*, 21 f, 206–8, 236–69; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 208, 362; H. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge, 1897), 117; idem, *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* (London, 1881), 286 ff.

⁴⁷ A. Şerif Beygu, *Erzurum tarihi* (Istanbul, 1936), 210 ff.

⁴⁸ A most authoritative study on the Phasians is by T'. Mik'eladze in *Masalebi Sak'art'velosi da Kavkasiis istoriisat'vis* 32 (1955), 23–37.

⁴⁹ Pliny distinguishes the Armeno-Chalybians (NH 6.11.29) near the Marchlands from the Chalybians in the central Pontos (NH 6.4.11). Cf. Strabo (12.3.19).

⁵⁰ Stephen Byz., ed. A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849), 602.11–13; idem, *FHG* 2, ed. K. Müller (Paris, 1848), 75; Herzfeld, *Empire*, 121; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 441 f note 21; E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels, 1953), 79 f note 1.

⁵¹ I cannot accept the itinerary of Tarn (CAH 6, 12 and map 1). He places the Taochoi in the immediate vicinity of Kars without justification. Considering the nature of the topography, his route is too long and convoluted. Also see: Toumanoff, *Studies*, 443 note 27; F. Segl, *Vom Kentrites bis Trapezus* (Erlangen, 1925), 36. The itinerary established by A. Safrastian ("The Itinerary of Xenophon's Retreat," *The Asiatic Review* 30 [1934], 681–93), which routes Xenophon around the eastern flank of Lake Van as far north as Doğubeyazıt, is simply not supported by the narrative in the *Anabasis*.

⁵² This route connecting Çobandede with Tortum remained an active thoroughfare through the Middle Ages and was the route followed by de Clavijo. See E. Zdanévitch, "Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo en Géorgie," *BK* 40 (1982), 245–52 (first published in *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, II [Belgrade, 1964], 249–55).

fifty *parasangai*, through the land of the Chalybians (*Ana.* 4.7.15 ff). From that region they crossed the Harpasus River traveling over a plain through the region of the Scythians for four *stathmoi*, twenty *parasangai*, until they reached a group of villages and collected provisions.⁵³ From here they marched four *stathmoi*, twenty *parasangai*, to the large and impressive city of Gymnias. An additional journey of five days to the north brought them to a mountain whence they could see the Black Sea (*Ana.* 4.7.20).

One can make an intelligent guess at the route from Tortum. Advance scouts probably informed the Greeks that the Tortum Suyu merged into a larger river (the modern Çoruh) and flowed to the northeast (away from their intended destination). Since the land of the Chalybians is in the area of İspir, we can assume that the Greeks took the direct route to the northwest, marching into the valleys of the Mescit Dağları. Mescitdağ Tepe (Fig. 2) channels the runoff as well as the westward oriented traffic to the region of Kırık. It is here that the largest tributary of the Çoruh forms and flows to the west. Most commentators believe that the Harpasus is the Akampsis/Çoruh.⁵⁴ From this point they marched forty *parasangai* to Gymnias. It is likely that they followed the Harpasus and its adjoining road to the modern Bayburt,⁵⁵ which can probably be associated with Gymnias.⁵⁶ From Bayburt a small army could easily hike to the summit of Soğanlı Dağ (2,856 m) by following the well-worn and still active road to Araklı. On a clear day the Black Sea is visible from Soğanlı Dağ.

Both Strabo, who composed his *Geōgraphia* between 30 B.C. and A.D. 21, and Pliny the Elder, who compiled his *Naturalis Historia* in the mid-first century A.D., make specific comments about the disposition of the Marchlands. Strabo's knowledge of the region was gained for the most part from sailing along the Euxine coast, from interviews with local Greeks, and from the now lost narratives of Theophanes of Mytilene, who accompanied Pompey on his campaign against Mithridates Eupator. As a native of Amasya, we should expect Strabo's acquaintance with the Pontos to be exceptional. He

concludes that certain tribes not only occupied the coast but extended their influence deep into the inland regions as well. When moving east from Trabzon toward the Caucasus the tribes are: the Achaeoi, Zygoi, Heniochoi, Kerketai, Moschoi, and Kolchoi (11.2.14; cf. 11.2.1–2, 2.5.31). He notes that the land of the Heniochoi as well as its environs is generally without good harbors, being described as a mountainous extension of the Caucasus (11.2.12). Those that are not pirates on the coast follow a nomadic life in narrow sterile lands (17.3.24). The Heniochoi supposedly descended from the two Laconian leaders, the charioteers of the Dioscuri ("heniochoi"), who were members of Jason's crew (11.2.12).⁵⁷ The sizable region controlled by this tribe was divided into "sceptuchies";⁵⁸ the districts administered by the "sceptre-bearers" were in turn grouped into the realms of each of their four kings (11.2.13; cf. 11.2.18): δυναστεύονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων σκηπτούχων· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἢ βασιλεύσιν εἰσιν. οἱ γοῦν Ἡνίοχοι τέτταρας εἶχον βασιλέας, ἡνίκα Μιθριδάτης ὁ Εὐπάτωρ, φεύγων ἐκ τῆς προγονικῆς εἰς Βόσπορον, διήει τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. Unfortunately, Strabo tells us nothing specific about the inland geography of the Heniochoi. He mentions that directly south of the Trabzon region (and thus west of the Marchlands) are the lands of the Tibaranoi, Chaldaioi, and Sannoi; "in previous times" the latter were called the Makrōnai. Below the Sannoi is Lesser Armenia and the land of the nearby Appaitai, who were once known as Kerketai (12.3.18). In this general area there are two mountains which are connected by spurs to the eastern ranges: Skydisēs and Paryadrēs. The former joins the Moschikoi Mountains (the Arsiani) which extend from the Caucasus to separate Kolchis from both Iberia and Armenia. The exact location of Mount Skydisēs is uncertain, but it is likely that it attaches to the Mescit Dağları. Mount Paryadrēs is almost certainly one of the lofty peaks

⁵³ Honigmann and Maricq, *Res Gestae*, 75 f notes 4–5.

⁵⁴ Tozer, *Geography*, 117.

⁵⁵ Below Bayburt the river begins a 180° turn which eventually changes the direction of flow from west to east. Bayburt is the major junction for travel to Trabzon (the destination of Xenophon's army) from the east and southeast.

⁵⁶ H. Vogt, "Remarques sur noms de lieux du Caucase," *BK* 39 (1981), 34; cf. Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 38 note 206, 55 note 390.

⁵⁷ Pomponius Mela, 1.19.111; Eustathios, *Parekbolai in Geographi Graeci Minores*, II (Paris, 1882), 339 f. The origin and ethnic composition of the Heniochoi are somewhat problematic; see Kiessling, "Hvtoχοι," 259–62. Less specific references have the "most savage" Zygoi, Achaeoi, and Heniochoi as descending from the Pelasgoi (Greeks); see: the *Fragmenta* of Charax Pergamenus, *FHG* 3, ed. K. Müller (Paris, 1849), 639; Aristotle, *Pol.* 38b 22; Heraclides Ponticus, *FHG* 2, ed. K. Müller (Paris, 1848), 218.

⁵⁸ *Skēptouchoi* may simply be a term of convenience applied rather arbitrarily by Strabo. There is no indication that the Heniochoi were under Kolchian or Persian suzerainty; see N. Lomouri, "History of the Kingdom of Ergissi (Lazica) from Its Origins to the Fifth Century A.D.," *BK* 26 (1969), 211.

in that section of the Pontic range northwest of İspir (12.3.30).⁵⁹ Both Skydisēs and Paryadrēs formed part of the border for Lesser Armenia (11.14.1). When Mithridates captured Trabzon, Chaldia, the region west of İspir (near modern Gümüşhane), and the northern portions of Lesser Armenia, Mount Paryadrēs was extensively fortified. Simultaneously, this Pontic king became master of Kolchis, but there is no mention in Strabo's text (12.3.28) that he controlled the intervening region (i.e., the Marchlands) or that he subjugated the Heniochoi. According to Appian (*Mithr.* 69,102), Mithridates made an alliance with the Heniochoi and passed through their territory quietly (ca. 66 B.C.). More than a century later an inscription from the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 75) records the dispatch of Roman engineers to a site near Mtskheta in Iberia for the purposes of building a fort against the Scythians and Sarmatians and to protect the route over the Daryal Pass. Curiously, there is no record of any Roman occupation of the Marchlands or contact with its inhabitants.⁶⁰

To a certain extent the gaps in our information can be filled by Pliny's narrative. He notes that on the coast, before reaching Trabzon from the northeast, is the river Pyxitos; beyond the latter is the race of the Heniochoi Sannoi, followed then by the river and fortress of Absarros, 140 miles from Trabzon (*NH* 6.4.12): "in ora ante Trapezunta flumen est Pyxites, ultra vero gens Sannorum Heniochorum, flumen Absarum cum castello cognomini in faucibus, a Trapezunte CXL." In the line immediately following he seems to sum up the region between the Pyxitos and Absarros with *eius loci*: "eius loci a tergo montium Hiberia est, in ora vero Heniochi, Ampreutae, Lazi, flumina Acampseon, Isis, Mogrus, Bathys, gentes Colchouum, ..." According to the very precise list of rivers

given by Arrian (ca. A.D. 141; *Perip.* 7.4), the Pyxitos is northeast of the city of Athēnai (probably the modern port of Pazar or perhaps Ardeşen);⁶¹ the Absarros is almost certainly the present river and town of Arhavi (Fig. 2).⁶² Beyond the Absarros (continuing in an easterly direction) there are more Heniochoi as well as Ampreutae, etc. That the border of the Heniochoi extends as far inland as the mountains of Iberia is certain for Pliny says that the Kur(a) River rises in the Heniochoi Mountains (which are also called the Coraxici):⁶³ "Cyrus oritur in Heniochis montibus quos alii Coraxicos vocavere" (*NH* 6.10.26). Since the Kur(a) is formed in Kola and along the east flank of the lower Arsiani Mountains, the Marchlands seem to be under the control of the Heniochoi.⁶⁴ Since the Heniochoi are part of the Tzanoi (Sannoi) and possess settlements as far north as Kolchis, they are probably Kartvelian speakers.⁶⁵

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.11.29), another tribe, the Mak(e/o)rones, occupied the edges of the Marchlands. Like the Heniochoi, this Caucasian group migrated south into Asia Minor and had a reputation as uncivilized brigands.⁶⁶ However, Strabo's account differs from Pliny's in that the for-

⁵⁹ That part of the Pontic range east of Trabzon bears the name Parhar/ParXar/Bolhar. Hence comes the name for the Georgian church of Parhal (west of Yusufeli). See: Adontz, *Armenia*, 23, 51–53, 307, 384 note 43a, 385 note 45; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 445–51; Herzfeld, *Empire*, 315–17.

⁶⁰ Lang, *Georgians*, 86. In A.D. 58 Cn. Domitius Corbulo, assigned to command the Roman army for its invasion of Armenia, may have persuaded the Heniochoi to raid Armenia from their homelands north of Erzurum. This assumes that the "Insochi" in Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.37), who "were won over for the first time" and became the "most loyal friend of Rome," can be identified with the Heniochoi. The problem with accepting this association is that elsewhere (*Ann.* 2.68) Tacitus refers to the Heniochoi by name. Cf. J. Anderson, "The Eastern Frontier from Tiberius to Nero," *CAH* 10 (1934), 761, 880 note 5; M. Caspari, "Notes of Tacitus, *Annals* 13.37.4," *CR* 25 (1911), 107 f; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II (Princeton, 1950), 1413.

⁶¹ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 11, 55 f, 336, 338–42. Kiessling ("Hvtoxoι," 267) is mistaken about the location of the Pyxitos. By placing it 3 km east of Trabzon he is at variance with the information from two ancient explorations in that area. In what survives of the anonymous (probably post-4th century) *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (*FHG* 5 [1883], 174) there is a specific mention that the tribe once called Ekcheireis and "now" called the Machelōnes and Heniochoi inhabit the regions between the Ophis (at the west) and Archabis (at the east) rivers. Even with the addition of the western neighbor of the Heniochoi, the Machelōnes, the Ophis (i.e., the modern Of) is still 59 km east of Trabzon! The anonymous *Periplus* has contracted slightly the northeast border of the Heniochoi and placed the Zudreitai farther south in the Marchlands between the Akampsis and Archabis rivers. Arrian (*Perip.* 7.1–4) places the toponyms in a similar alignment. Compare map 3 in F. Arrianus, *Scripta Minora et Fragmenta*, II, ed. A. Roos (Leipzig, 1967) and map 18 in *Geographi Graeci Minores, Tabulae*, ed. K. Müller (Paris, 1882).

⁶² G. Thomas, *Der Periplus des Pontos Euxinus nach münchener Handschriften* (Berlin, 1863), 250, 269; A. Baschmakoff, "La synthèse des périples pontiques," *Etudes d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie* 3 (1948), 41, 56 f, 66, 124; T. Qauḥč'išvili, *Berjeni mcerlebis c'nobei sak'artvelos šesabeb*, I, *Skilak's kariandel*, *Skimnos k'ioseli, Dionisios periegeti* (Tbilisi, 1967), 47 ff, 148 f.

⁶³ Hecataeus, *FHG* 1, ed. K. and Th. Müller (Paris, 1841), 12; Stephen Byz. 688.18–19. The Coraxi are a tribe south of the Caucasian Mountains (Pliny, *NH* 6.5.15). Also see: Plutarch, *Pomp.* 34.1–2; and Pomponius Mela, 3.5.41.

⁶⁴ That the territory of the Heniochoi extends far inland from the sea is confirmed by the anonymous *Periplus* (177 f). The initial streams that feed the Çoruh are in the territory of the Sannoi (Procopius, *BG* 4.1, 8.2–5); also see Kiessling, "Hvtoxoι," 272 f.

⁶⁵ Allen, "Ex Ponto V," 80 ff.

⁶⁶ A. Herrmann, "Makrones," *RE* 14 (1930), 815.

mer (12.3.18) defines Makrones as merely the ancient name for the Sannoi, a people whom he places south of Trabzon in the region of Chaldia.⁶⁷ Pliny mentions that the Sannoi come from a district of the Pontos near Heraclea⁶⁸ (*NH* 21.45.77) and that a subdivision of their group are the Heniochoi (*NH* 6.4.12).⁶⁹ What Pliny either forgot to mention or did not realize is that the Makrones are another subdivision of the Sannoi.⁷⁰ The Makrones probably resided along the border of another Sannic tribe, the Machelones. This group may be the Machorones of Pliny (*NH* 6.4.11); they lived between the Ophis and Prytanis rivers.⁷¹ Unfortunately, Lucian's comments in the *Taxaris* (44–50) about the Machlyai and their ruler are purely fictional. Ptolemy, who writes in the first half of the second century A.D., lists the town of Mechlessos on the border of Kolchis,⁷² but he adds nothing substantive.⁷³ Arrian, a contemporary of Ptolemy, lists on a west to east orientation the Sannoi, Dri-laë, Machelonoi, Heniochoi, Zudreitai, and Lazoi (*Perip.* 11.1–2). The Machelonoi and Heniochoi

are ruled by a single king, Anchialos.⁷⁴ Writing in the early third century about an event a hundred years earlier (A.D. 117), Dio Cassius (68.19) tells us that Trajan came to Satala (modern: Sadak?) and rewarded Anchialos, the king of the Heniochoi and Machelones. Thus from the time of Strabo some sort of consolidation of the local kings seems to have taken place.⁷⁵ Arrian adds that the Prytanis River is still the boundary for the kingdom (or one of two kingdoms?) of Anchialos (*Perip.* 7.3). No matter what contact the Greeks and Romans had with the Heniochoi, they always regarded the latter as barbarians in an inhospitable land. For Seneca has Thyestes (1048 f) say: “quis inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam Heniochus.”

The Moschoi, who inhabit eastern Kolchis and western Iberia near the eastern flank of the Marchlands, are not mentioned by Arrian. Their name is identical to the well-attested mountain range (the Moschikoi or modern Arsiani) which separates Kolchis, Iberia, and Armenia.⁷⁶ The central and northern extensions of these mountains give rise to the Rion (Phasis) River (*NH* 6.4.13; cf. 6.11.29). While there is wide-ranging speculation about the origin of this group, their historical past is oriented to these mountains.⁷⁷ Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. (3.94; cf. 7.78) tells us that the Moschoi and Makrones along with the Tibareni, Mares, and Mossynoikoi were grouped into the nineteenth satrapy of the Persian empire and collectively paid a tribute of three hundred talents.⁷⁸ Strabo associates the Makrones with the “ancient” Sannoi, a people like the Tibareni, who inhabit the regions south of Trabzon and portions of the Pontic shore (cf. Xen. *Ana.* 4.8.1–9).⁷⁹ It appears that

⁶⁷ Later, this identification is repeated by Stephen of Byzantium (429.5). Cf. Arrian, *Perip.* 11.1; Procopius, *BG* 4.1.8 f; Eustathios, *Parekbolai*, 349.

⁶⁸ Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 328 f; T. Brown et al., “Cities of Heracleus,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), 22–30.

⁶⁹ Procopius, *De Aed.* 3.6.18. P. Ingoroqva (*Giorgi Merčule* [Tbilisi, 1954], 134–37) accepts the identification of Sannoi and Heniochoi. Sannoi being a term that comes to prominence in the late classical period. The classical references to Saniges/Suanes/Soanes probably refer to subdivisions of the Heniochoi. Allen (“Ex Ponto’ I and II,” *BK* 30–31 [1958], 39 ff, 51; idem, “Ex Ponto V,” 79 f, 82 f) rightly rejects the assertion of M. Inadze (in *Masalebi Sak’ar’ velosi da Kavkasiis istoriisat’vis* 32 [1955], 14–21) that the Sannoi and Heniochoi are mixed tribes. Inadze may be right to assume that the Heniochoi are among the oldest inhabitants of west Georgia, but from our classical sources they appear to have occupied the regions south of Kolchis (i.e., the Marchlands). It is quite possible that the Heniochoi could have migrated south from Kolchis before the 7th century B.C. There is no evidence to show that the Marchlands and Kolchis were jointly administered before the rise of the Georgian Bagratids.

⁷⁰ Cf. Theodore, *Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, ed. and trans. P. Canivet, II (Paris, 1958), 339 f. An alternate spelling for Sannoi is preserved in Memnon (*FHG* 3, 555): Sanēgai.

⁷¹ A. Herrmann, “Machelones,” *RE* 14 (1930), 154.

⁷² Honigsmann and Maricq, *Res Gestae*, 70 ff.

⁷³ In general Ptolemy's discussion of the Marchlands is quite inadequate; he has no sense of its topography. The major geographical divisions he lists are Armenia Major, Kolchis, Iberia, and Armenia Minor (Cappadocia). He does describe the Kur(a) as forming the borders of Iberia and Armenia Major; the latter extends to Kolchis, whose borders are defined by the Moschikoi, which connect with the Pontic ranges. See: Ptolemy, *Geog.* 1.2, ed. and comm. K. Müller (Paris, 1901), 866, 925, 932, 934, 937 f; idem, *Geographia*, ed. C. Nobbe (Leipzig, 1843–45) [rpr. Hildesheim, 1966], 8.17.2, 8.18.2, 8.19.1, 5.9.7, 5.10–13, 5.7.1 ff; W. Kubitschek, *Studien zur Geographie des Ptolemäus*, I, *Ländergrenzen* (Vienna-Leipzig, 1934), 98–102, 130–33, 156 f; A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, II (Leipzig, 1843), 98, 408, 440–45; Hews, “Ptolemy's Chapter on Armenia,” 111 ff.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, *Perip.* 175–77; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 448 note 39.

⁷⁵ Pliny, a near contemporary of Strabo, indicates that the tribes of the Heniochoi were numerous and had various names (*NH* 6.4.14, 6.7.30). Cf. Dio Cassius, 62.14. See also: Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, 607, II, 1465; T. Mitford, “Cappadocia and Asia Minor: Historical Setting of the Limes,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.7.2 (1980), 1198.

⁷⁶ Strabo, 12.3.18, 11.2.14 f; Procopius, *BP* 8.2.24–26; Pliny, *NH* 6.10.29; Herzfeld, *Empire*, 125; Second Preliminary Report, 44 f.

⁷⁷ A. Herrmann, “Moschoi,” *RE* 6 (1935), 351 f; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 49–64, 80.

⁷⁸ Cf. Hecataeus, *FHG* 1 (1841), 13. It is quite possible that this is a list of tribes in the Persian Empire and not specific satrapies; see G. Cameron, “The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters,” *JNES* 32 (1973), 47–56. The “19th satrapy” was probably a creation of Herodotus; consult Herzfeld, *Empire*, 295 ff, 313–17.

⁷⁹ A. Herrmann, “Makrones,” *RE* 14 (1930), 815; idem, “Tibarenoi,” *RE* 6 (1937), 764. Xenophon places the Chalybai, Makrones, and Tibarenoi as neighbors on the Pontic coast west

the Mossynoikoi inhabit part of Chaldia (Strabo 11.14.5), and the Mares controlled sections of the Pontic coast.⁸⁰ It is apparent from this list that the Persians controlled only the periphery and not the Marchlands. This explains why Xenophon more than a century later found no evidence of civil authority amid the Taochoi.⁸¹ Nor is there any indication in later periods that the pre-Sasanid Persians occupied the region. Even in the so-called *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, the mid-third-century A.D. trilingual inscription concerning the political, military, and religious activities of Shapuhr I, only Machelonia is mentioned.⁸² A. Maricq has shown convincingly that Machelonia is located on the southeast edge of the Black Sea and in the traditional regions of ancient Kolchis.⁸³

Late Antique

The tribal designation "Lazoi" is first mentioned in the Christian era,⁸⁴ and it is only after the third century A.D. that the concept of Lazica comes into prominence. The latter includes certain geographical regions that were occupied by speakers of a particular Kartvelian dialect, which is related to Mingrelian.⁸⁵ In the sixth century both Procopius⁸⁶ and Agathias⁸⁷ believe that the ancient and traditional lands of the Laz were in Kolchis, a region that the ancients call Egris(s)⁸⁸ and the medieval

Georgians place between Guria and Abkhazet'i.⁸⁹ Kolchis is located north of the Ačara (Adzhari) River. Lazic settlements and border fortresses (e.g., Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Pitius, Scanda, Sarapanis, Petra, Rhodopolis, and Mochersis)⁹⁰ extended west from the frontiers of Iberia⁹¹ so as to encompass and overreach the Phasis (Rion) River from its source to the Black Sea. Less civilized Lazic tribes migrated into the coastal regions from Batum to Rize; for the most part they were confined to the north flank of the Pontic range (i.e., northwest of Paryadrēs/Parhal). The evidence from our premedieval sources indicates that few of the Lazic regions fall within the confines of the Marchlands. In the late Roman and Early Byzantine periods the Greeks of Anatolia viewed the Lazic and Iberian kings, such as G(o)ubazes and G(o)urgenē, as clients of dubious loyalty and ability.⁹² Their lands had to be occupied to prevent the spread of Persian influence.⁹³ Although the Arab invasions were to erase the Laz of Kolchis as a political and cultural force in the formation of medieval Georgia, they prospered as independent herds-men and farmers along the Pontic ranges, first as subjects of the Byzantine and Trebizuntine empires, and finally as converted Muslims in the Ottoman/Turkish state.

From the remarks in the text of Procopius it seems that the principal occupants of the Marchlands in the time of Justinian I are the San(n)oi/Tzanoi. As early as the first century A.D. Pliny the Elder places the Heniochoi, a subdivision of the Sannoi, in the Marchlands. Procopius, who views the Tzanoi as a distinct nation from the Lazoi,⁹⁴ places the boundaries of the former nearest to the

of Trabzon (*Ana.* 5.4.2–34, 5.5.1–3). Cf. Ephorus, *FGH* 1 (1841), 259; A. Bryer, "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (I)," *BK* 21–22 (1966), 175; R. Eisler, "Die 'Seevölker' Namen in den altorientalischen Quellen," *Caucasica* 5 (1928), 81–102.

⁸⁰ A. Herrmann, "Mares," *RE* 14 (1930), 1680.

⁸¹ Xenophon, *Ana.* 5.5.17; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 443 note 27. Dumlü Dağ appears to be one of the boundaries of Persian Armenia; see R. Hewsen, "Introduction to Armenian Historical Geography, II: The Boundaries of Achaemenid 'Armina,'" *REArm*, n.s. 17 (1983), 139.

⁸² A. Olmstead, "The Mid-third Century of the Christian Era I and II," *CPh* 37 (1942), 398–420, 641–62; M. Rostovtzeff, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis and Dura," *Berytus* 8.1 (1943), 17–60; Herzfeld, *Empire*, 314 note 2.

Unfortunately, the so-called "historical atlases" of this region provide no specific data on the occupation of the Marchlands and environs; they are based largely on guesswork. See: H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus: Zwölf Karten zur alten Geschichte* (Berlin, 1902), pl. iv; F. Schrader, *Atlas de géographie historique* (Paris, 1896), maps 10, 12, 14, 15, 16; K. Miller, *Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten*, VI (Stuttgart, 1896), pls. 6, 7, 20, 30.

⁸³ Honigsmann and Maricq, *Res Gestae*, 63 ff. If Xenophon's account is to be trusted (*Ana.* 4.8.8–24, 5.3.2), the Kolchians possessed areas of the Pontic coast at and near Trabzon. The "traditional coast" of the Kolchians is north of Batum.

⁸⁴ V. Minorsky, "Laz," *EI* (1936), 20.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 21 f; A. Herrmann, "Lazai," *RE* (1925), 1042 f.

⁸⁶ Procopius, *BP* 1.11.28, 2.15.1–6; *BG* 8.1.7 ff.

⁸⁷ Agathias, 2.18.4, 3.5.1.

⁸⁸ Lomouri, "History," 211–16.

⁸⁹ C. Toumanoff, "Caucasia and Byzantium," *Trad* 27 (1971), 119.

⁹⁰ Procopius, *BP* 2.29.17 ff; Agathias, 2.19.1 ff. The location of most of these sites is in dispute; see: Toumanoff, *Studies*, 257 note 359; Adontz, *Armenia*, 81 f, 134, 137, 409 note 19.

⁹¹ Although Procopius and Agathias use the designations "Iberians," "Lazi," and "Kolchians" interchangeably to describe various Kartvelian speakers, they have a clear sense that Iberia and Kolchis/Lazica are two distinct geographical regions. Neither writer should be chided for this lack of consistency. See: Procopius, *BP* 1.12.2–5, 2.17.1–2, 2.28.17 ff; Agathias, 2.18.1–4, 2.22.3 ff, 3.5.1; cf. A. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 82. Today scholars use interchangeably the terms "Turkey" and "Asia Minor" to describe the same land mass, yet they know that historically Asia Minor refers to the more westerly regions in Anatolia. See: D. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula* (Heidelberg, 1971), 27–99.

⁹² Toumanoff, *Studies*, 255 note 355, 360–82; Procopius, *BP* 2.17.1–3, 1.12.4–13, 2.15.1–18; Agathias, 2.18.6; 3.2.3 ff.

⁹³ Bryer, "Notes (I)," 176 ff; C. Toumanoff, *CMH* 4.1 (1966), 600 ff.

⁹⁴ Procopius, *BP* 1.15.19–25, 2.29.14.

Boas (Çoruh) River as it flows out from among the Armenians who dwell around Pharangion (i.e., İspir).⁹⁵ From here it proceeds to the right (i.e., the northeast) for a great distance as a shallow and easily traversable stream up to the point where Iberia lies on the right and the mountainous extensions of the Caucasus are directly opposite. The text records (*BP* 2.29.14): Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν ἄγχισθὰ πη τῶν Τζανικῆς ὁρίων ἐν Ἀρμενίοις οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον ὥκηνται. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλείστον χωρεῖ, βραχὺς τε ἰὼν καὶ πόνω οὐδενὶ γινόμενος ἑσβατὸς ἅπασιν ἄχρι ἐς χώρον οὗ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἰβήρων τὰ ὄρια ἐστί, καταντικρὺ δὲ τελευτᾷ ὄρος ὁ Καύκασος. At this point the account of Procopius becomes somewhat muddled, for as the Çoruh changes course to flow northwest into the Black Sea, he claims that it is called the Phasis (Rion), which in reality is 70 km to the north.⁹⁶ He is correct in that the Çoruh becomes *partially* navigable near Artvin because of the increased flow from the Merehevi Suyu. Confusing the Phasis and the Çoruh north of Artvin, he specifically places the Tzanoi southwest of Iberia in that mountainous district from which his Phasis River flows and eventually passes into Kolchis (*BP* 1.15.20–22): . . . ἔνθεν ἔξιὼν ποταμὸς Φάσις φέρεται ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα. ταύτῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάρεβαροι, τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς κατήκοι ὥκηντο, Σάνοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καλούμενοι, . . . When a group of Tzanic mercenaries deserted from the Greek army, they sailed directly to the port of Rhizaios (modern: Rize), whence they traveled by land to the nearby port of Athenai (the modern Pazar), which bordered on both the Greek and Lazic territories.⁹⁷ From there they marched southeast through Greek enclaves across the Pontic Alps into their own homeland. Procopius believes that the Tzanic lands extended for a consid-

erable distance on the inland side of the Pontic range just north of their Armenian allies (*BG* 8.2.5): τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν χωρίων (i.e., Trabzon, Rize, and the Lazic coast) ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰ Τζανικῆς ὄρη πάντα ἀνέχει, ἐπέκειντά τε αὐτῶν Ἀρμένιοι Ῥωμαίων κατήκοι ὥκηνται. Later he characterizes their land as χώρα ἔρημος (*BG* 8.2.20). Elsewhere Procopius states that the Tzanoi are *not* neighbors of the Trebizuntines, and he gives a succinct definition of their habitat in the Marchlands (*BG* 8.1.8–10): Τζάνοι μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραλίας ὡς ἀπωτάτω ὄντες προσοικοῦσι τοὺς Ἀρμένιους ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ καὶ ὄρη πολλὰ μεταξὺ ἀποκρέματα, λίαν τε ἄβατα καὶ ὅλως κρημνώδη, χώρα τε πολλὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐς αἰὲ οὕσα καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι καὶ λόφοι ὑλώδεις καὶ σήραγγες ἀδιέξοδοι, οἷς δὴ ἅπασι μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιοι εἶναι διειργονται Τζάνοι. He also notes (*De Aed.* 3.6.4–6) that any sort of husbandry is impossible in their inhospitable country:

οὐ γήλοφοι δὲ εἰσι τὰ ἐπανεστηκότα τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ γεωδὴ οὐδὲ οἷα καρποὺς ἀφεῖναι, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, ἀλλὰ τραχέα τε ὑπερβαλλόντως καὶ σκληρὰ ὑπεράγαν καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάντων δεινῶς ἄφορα. καὶ οὔτε ἀρόσαι τὴν γῆν οὔτε ἀμήσασθαι λήιον οὔτε λειμῶνι ἐντυχεῖν ἐνταῦθὰ πη δυνατὰ γίνεται ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δένδροις, οἷσπερ ἡ Τζανικὴ τέθηλεν, ἀκάρποις τε οὖσιν ἀνθεῖ καὶ ὅλως ἀγόνους, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχονται καιροὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ἡ γῆ τῷ τῆς ὥρας ὑγρῷ τε καὶ ψυχρῷ βάλλεται, νῦν δὲ δὴ αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμὴ ὀνύνησιν, ἀλλὰ χειμῶνι τε ἀπερᾶντῳ ξυνώκισται ἡ χώρα καὶ χιόσιν αἰδίους κατάρροτος ἐστί.

Unlike the Lazoi, the Tzanoi were not brought into the status of a client state; initially they were paid a fixed amount of gold each year by the emperor not to plunder the Greek and Armenian regions outside their lands.⁹⁸

In the reign of Justinian I this barbarous race was won over by military prowess and kindness; they became Christians, and many even enlisted in the Byzantine army.⁹⁹ Justinian opened roads into the Tzanic region, built a church at the presently unidentified site of Schamalinichōn, and erected or repaired the following fortresses: Horonōn, Charton, Barchon, Sisilisson, Bourgousnoēs, Schamalinichōn, and Tzanzacōn.¹⁰⁰ Of these fortifications only Horonōn can be identified with a modern locale. According to Procopius, Horonōn was the point from which the Greeks first entered Tza-

⁹⁵ Adontz, *Armenia*, 22 f, 50; cf. A. Bryer, "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan (II)," *BK* 23–24 (1967), 161 f; idem and Winfield, *Pontos*, 15, 54–56; Procopius, *BP* 1.15.18; *BG* 8.2.6.

İspir is one of the few cities that actually sits on the edge of the Marchlands. Consequently, it is a site that has changed hands on numerous occasions. See: D. Winfield, "A Note on the South-eastern Borders of the Empire of Trebizond in the Thirteenth Century," *AS* 12 (1962), 163–72; Bryer and Winfield, *Pontos*, 14 f, 38, 54–56, 352–55.

⁹⁶ Procopius seems to correct himself in a later passage (*BG* 8.2.6–9), when he mentions that the Boas becomes the Akampsis at the point where it changes direction (near Artvin) and flows into the Black Sea. For information on the Akampsis see J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 23.

⁹⁷ Procopius, *BP* 2.30.14; *BG* 8.2.10. In another passage (8.2.17–19) Procopius says that the residents of Athenai are independent and have agreements to provide escorts to their neighbors traveling from one country to another.

⁹⁸ Procopius, *BP* 1.15.21–23.

⁹⁹ Cf. Agathias, 5.2.2–5; Procopius, *BP* 2.3.39, 1.15.24 f; idem, *De Aed.* 3.6.6.

¹⁰⁰ Procopius, *De Aed.* 3.6.14–26.

nikē. This fortress was positioned at the boundaries (τὰ ὅρια) between the Greek, Persarmenian, and Tzanic lands, near the point where three major roads meet. The site was of such importance that a military commander was established there. The only area that fits the physical criteria is Horum Dağ. The road east from Erzurum passes through the Pasinler vale via Çobandede and Horasan. From the latter a major road leads directly north to Aşağıbademözü (Fig. 2), which is on the south flank of Horum Dağ. Directly north of this mountain the Horasan road joins a route that eventually bifurcates, with one branch leading into the Kars highway and the other reaching Göle via Gaziler and Şenkaya. On the west flank of Horum a major trail of some antiquity leads into the Narman Valley via Kışlaköy. Below the northeast flank of Horum Dağ near the village of Zivin is a late antique/medieval fortress.¹⁰¹ The Greeks probably placed their forts around the periphery of the Tzanic lands in order to control the roads, rather than administer the population from the interior. The Tzanoi of the Marchlands slowly sink into oblivion; those in the western Çoruh valleys are displaced by the continued migration of Armenians into İspir and Hamşen, while others in the southwest are absorbed into the Mamikonean principality. Their cousins in the central and northern regions quietly succumb first to the armies of King Vakh tang I Gorgasal and finally to the Georgian Bagratids in the late eighth century.¹⁰² Certain tribes of the Tzanoi, whom our ancient authors position directly south and east of Trabzon, survive into the fourteenth century. In the tenth century al-Mas'ūdī mentions the Goumiks/Ghumiks, who live as Christians in obedience to local chieftains

and at peace with their Lazic neighbors.¹⁰³ What we know of these Chaldian Tzanoi is derived largely from the histories of the Tzanichon dynasty.¹⁰⁴

With the exception of Tayk', which became the Armenian foothold in the southern Marchlands and the conduit for a *nominal* claim of Sasanid sovereignty there from 387 to 591, there is no evidence that the Persians occupied or controlled the Marchlands during the late antique period. According to the so-called ἀπέθαντος εἰρήνη of A.D. 532, the Persians kept Iberia and received Phrangion (İspir) and Bolum (east of Theodosiopolis), while they relinquished all the strongholds of Lazica to the Greeks.¹⁰⁵ Those fifth- and sixth-century writers who discuss the conflicts between Greek and Persian troops in the regions of Lazica and Theodosiopolis never mention the invasion or occupation of the Tzanic Marchlands.¹⁰⁶ The Tzanoi seem to treasure their isolation; those who are credited with invading Cappadocia, Cilicia,

¹⁰³ Al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. C. de Meynard and P. de Courteille, II (Paris, 1914), 40.

¹⁰⁴ Bryer, "Notes (I)," 189–95; idem, "Notes (II)," 161–68.

¹⁰⁵ Procopius, *BP* 1.22.17 ff. After the peace of 591 Emperor Maurice reorganized Armenia. There is no evidence to support Toumanoff's conclusion that the principality of Tayk' was renamed "Deep Armenia." We know only that the line of partition between Byzantium and Persia ran through Tbilisi. Certainly, the Marchlands fell under the Greek sphere of influence, but we know nothing specific of its administration. The Mamikoneans of Tayk' would probably retain close ties with a centralized Greco-Armenian authority. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 384; idem, "The Background to Mantzikert," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1966 [1967]), 414.

¹⁰⁶ (Ps.-) Zachariah of Mitylene, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene*, trans. F. Hamilton and E. Brooks (London, 1899), 153, 297, 315, 328; Joshua the Stylite, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and trans. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), 37–41; John of Ephesus, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, trans. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860), 118, 124, 391 ff, 436; Menander Protector (Excerpta), ed. Bekker and Niebuhr, Bonn ed. (1829), 321 f, 344, 395 f, 410, cf. idem, *FHG* 4, ed. K. Müller (Paris, 1851), 202 f, 206–17, 243; Theophanes (Excerpta), ed. Bekker and Niebuhr, Bonn ed. (1829), 485; Priscus, *FHG* 4, 102 f, 109, 164 f, 217; Eustathius of Epiphaneia, *FHG* 4, 142; *Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. M. Spinka and G. Downey (Chicago, 1940), 122 f, 137; Evagrius, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, ed. and notes J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 5.7, 5.12–13; Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, ed. de Boor (Stuttgart, 1972), 117, 121–23, 309; L. Whitby, *The Historiae of Theophylact Simocatta*, diss. (Oxford, 1981), 143 f, 178.

Later, during the campaigns of Heraclius against the Persians, the Greek forces always traveled along the eastern and northern flanks of the Marchlands but never through the region. See E. Gerland, "Die persischen Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios," *BZ* 3 (1894), 348–73; A. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, I, A.D. 602–643, trans. M. Ogilvie-Grant (Amsterdam, 1968), 198 ff; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 225–35.

¹⁰¹ Allen and Muratoff, *Battlefields*, map 12. To the west of Horum Dağ and within a distance of 20 km there may be two medieval forts at Sican and Kızlar; see the Deutsche Heereskarte, "Oltu." There is insufficient evidence to support the identification of Horonön with Halane, south of Trabzon; see Adontz, *Armenia*, 51, 398 note 311. Procopius (*BP* 1.10.18, 1.15.32) places the border of Persarmenia east and south of Theodosiopolis and the Pasinler Valley, which leaves Halane very far from Trabzon.

¹⁰² There is no evidence until the 11th century that the Greeks extended their influence across the western border of the Marchlands; Bryer notes that "from Justinian's reign the Byzantine border seems to have included Bayburt, but excluded İspir." Cf. Bryer, "Notes (I)," 178; N. Marr, "Iz poezdki v turetskij Lazistan," *Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg* (1910), 547–70, 607–32; J. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yahyā b. Sa'īd*, diss. (University of Michigan, 1977), 370 ff. The Aras River seems to have marked the limit of Byzantine influence in Basean. See: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 189 ff; Oikonomides, "L'organisation," 81–90.

and Syria during the reign of Theodosius II may actually be from Chaldia.¹⁰⁷

The Armenian house of the Mamikoneans, which ruled Tayk^ʿ until A.D. 772, has its origins in the Kartvelian Tzanoi. In the narrative of P^ʿawstos Buzand, the Mamikoneans themselves trace their lineage back to the kings of the nation of Čenk^ʿ.¹⁰⁸ Čenk^ʿ, which is mistakenly associated with China in the more flamboyant genealogies of the Mamikoneans, actually refers to the Tzanoi (հենք; հաւն-, հաւն-իւլ).¹⁰⁹ Their integration and eventual absorption into Armenia is a gradual process that begins with military alliances, intermarriage, and the attainment of certain hereditary offices from the Armenian monarchy (e.g., *sparapet*). Mancaeus, who helped to lead the defense of Tigranokerta in 69 B.C., is the first Mamikonean to appear in history. In the mid-fifth century Vardan I led a revolt against the Persians in which he lost his life; his immediate relatives and collaterals ascended to many princely houses in Armenia.¹¹⁰

Simultaneous to the rise of the Mamikoneans,

¹⁰⁷ Malalas, *Chron.*, Bonn ed. (1831), 12.129, 13.40.

¹⁰⁸ P^ʿawstos Buzand, *Patmut'iw n Hayoc' (Venice, 1933)*, 5.4, 5.37; cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Matenagru'iwnk' (Venice, 1865)*, 2.76, 2.81.

¹⁰⁹ Adontz, *Armenia*, 47, 313; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 210 f; Xorenac'i, *History*, trans. Thomson, 224 note 11, 230 notes 2, 4.

¹¹⁰ Ehišē, *Ehišē vasn Vardanay ew Hayoc' Paterazmin*, ed. E. Tēr-Minasean (Erevan, 1957); Ehišē, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, trans. and comm. R. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Toumanoff, *Studies*, 132 ff, 223 ff, 209–11 note 238, 452 f. I cannot accept the conclusion of Ingoroqva (*Giorgi Merc'ule*, 489 f) who believes that Tayk^ʿ did not belong to the Armenians because the Mamikoneans were of Georgian ancestry. Their Kartvelian heritage would lead them to tolerate a large Georgian population in an Armenian Tayk^ʿ. At the other extreme, the Armenian author of the *Ašxarhač'oyc'* exaggerates the size of Tayk^ʿ and the Armenian presence in the Marchlands out of a sense of nationalism and a misunderstanding of Mamikonean influence. I can find no evidence that this Armenian geography is based on a Byzantine occupation of this region in the late 6th century. Cf. R. Hews, "Introduction to Armenian Historical Geography," *REArm*, n.s. 13 (1978–79), 89; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze*, 28–34; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 228–33.

In his forthcoming article "North Central Armenia, I: The Principality of Tayk^ʿ," R. Hews accepts Adontz's identification (*Armenia*, 21 f, 68*) of Buxa in the *Gahnamak* with the *gawar* of Botxa in the *Ašxarhač'oyc'* to conclude that the Dimak'seans controlled one of the three principalities of Tayk^ʿ. In my opinion there is simply not sufficient evidence to make this association. Toumanoff (*Studies*, 204, 458 note 93) distinguishes the Dimak'sean Bukha, "a canton of Ayrarat, due south of Tayk^ʿ," from the canton in southern Tayk^ʿ. The phonetic dissimilarity between Buxa and Botxa as well as the fact that the Dimak'seans are not attested in Buxa in any documents prior to the late 8th-century *Gahnamak*, should lead to the more cautious appraisal that the Tayk^ʿ of 591 was a neutral zone controlled by the Mamikoneans. The nature of the separate districts (*gawars*) in Tayk^ʿ is detailed by Professor Hews in his forthcoming article.

both the Iberians and Abkhazians periodically extended their influence south into the northern quarters of the Marchlands, but with no lasting effect. The most significant penetration occurred during the reign of King Vakhtang I Gorgasal (ca. 445–510) when the fortresses of Ferhatli (Akhiz) and Ardanuç were (re)built and bishops were appointed to those regions. King Vakhtang is credited with building the church and monastery at Opiza.¹¹¹ By the second quarter of the sixth century it is likely that the clerics abandoned these sites during the period when the Persians made an unsuccessful attempt to replace Christianity with Mazdaism. The Georgians were partially freed from their Iranian bondage in the revolt of 572.¹¹² Almost a century later the Arabs were to conduct punitive raids in the Marchlands, but they made no attempt to colonize the interior, since the roads from Trabzon to the east curved around this region.¹¹³

Medieval

The mid-eighth century witnessed a decline of the Arab threat and a new religious colonization of the sparsely populated northern Marchlands. The movement was led by St. Gregory of Khandzta/Xanjta (759–861), a proselytizing monk who rebuilt the monastery at Opiza and founded over a dozen similar cloisters, five of which he established personally. His life and semimythical exploits are chronicled in the mid-tenth century by Giorgi Merc'ule.¹¹⁴ On the heels of this religious movement the Georgian Bagratids, under the leadership of Adarnase I and his son Ašot I (d. 830), consolidated the Marchlands (including northern Tayk^ʿ = Upper Tao) into what is commonly referred to as the third kingdom of medieval Geor-

¹¹¹ Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merc'ule*, 340. It is not certain whether Ašot I built or repaired the church of St. John the Baptist at Opiza. Guram (d. 882) is also credited with rebuilding the site; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 328 note 104.

¹¹² C. Toumanoff, "Christian Caucasasia between Byzantium and Iran: New Light from Old Sources," *Trad* 10 (1954), 172 ff; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant Islam*, I (Paris, 1951), 226–38.

¹¹³ Second Preliminary Report, note 40; B. Martin-Hisard, "Les Arabes en Géorgie occidentale au VIII^e s.: Etude sur l'idéologie politique géorgienne," *BK* 40 (1982), 105–38; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle*, II (Paris, 1975), 43, 259–72, 392–98, 403, 410.

¹¹⁴ Giorgi Merčul', *Žitie Sb. Grigorija Xandztiškago*, intro., trans., and comm. N. Marr in *Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii* 7 (St. Petersburg, 1911); Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merc'ule*; Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, 98 f, 105–7; P. Peeters, *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19), 207–309.

gia, Tao-Klarjet'i.¹¹⁵ The late ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries marked an unprecedented period of construction in the region; great basilicas and castles, as well as monasteries with scriptoria and fine works of art, were erected in the various districts.¹¹⁶ Although the castles functioned as centers for both military and civil administration, the monasteries too controlled vast tracts of land, which they held by treaty. The large cloisters managed the local peasants, agriculture, and transportation.¹¹⁷ The development of a village civilization certainly attracted immigrants into the once deserted areas. The monks found a natural shelter in this mountainous region, which in many respects resembles Mount Athos. Many of the monasteries were built under royal patronage.¹¹⁸ In Šavšet'i, Klarjet'i, and Tao there were fifteen major monasteries: Tbethi, Opiza, Khandztha, Šatberdi, Parekhi, Bertha, Mindzadzori, Tsqarostani, Anči, Iškhanı, Oški, Khakhuli (Haho), Parkhali, Bana, and Kalmakhi.¹¹⁹

Although the fragmentary nature of our written sources has left many gaps and consequently controversies throughout the entire narrative of Bagratid Georgia, certain unresolved questions have made the reign of David Curopalate the most problematic period. For his services rendered to the Byzantine crown during the revolt of Bardas

Skleros, David received in 979 the following regions (adjacent to his realm), which he was allowed to administer during his lifetime: Theodosiupolis (Karin/Erzurum) with its environs (K'atoyarić, Kłesurawn, and Č'ormayri) extending to the borders of Erzincan, the vale of Basean (Pasinler), and regions directly to the south and southwest of the latter (Sewoukberdak, Mardaši, Hark', and Apahunik').¹²⁰ Just prior to Skleros' revolt, David, who was childless, was persuaded by a certain Ioane Marušije, duke of K'art'li, to adopt Bagrat III as his heir. Bagrat was the son and immediate successor of King Gurgen II of K'art'li, who died in 1008. His mother, Gurunduxt Anč'abaje, the daughter of the king of Abkhazet'i, passed that kingdom on to Bagrat at the death of her father. Thus in the early 980s Bagrat III was the titular ruler of a united Georgia and one in fact by 1008.¹²¹ Yet, why did Bagrat's kinsmen refuse to accept the Greek reoccupation of David's land grant, when such action was apparently legal? How and why did David help the Byzantine emperor?

During the struggle with Bardas Skleros it is generally agreed that Basil II sent T'ornik, an Armeno-Georgian monk from Mount Athos, to request aid from David Curopalate.¹²² The Georgian and Armenian sources support this view;¹²³ it contradicts the report in Skylitzes that Bardas Phocas,

¹¹⁵ For the history of the Georgian Bagratids see: Toumanoff, *Studies*, passim; idem, "The Fifteenth-century Bagratids and the Institution of Collegial Sovereignty in Georgia," *Trad* 7 (1949–51), 169–221. Frequently, different Bagratid princes administered Tao and Klarjet'i separately.

¹¹⁶ First Preliminary Report, 19 note 22, 21 note 30; Second Preliminary Report, 165 note 2; W. Dchobadze-Zizichwili, "Los esmaltes del Icono de Jajuli," *Archivo español de arte* 25 (1952), 25–51; G. Peradze, "Die altgeorgische Literatur und ihre Probleme," *OC* 2 (1927), 213, 218 f, 221; M. Tarchnišvili, "Die geistliche Dichtung Georgiens und ihr Verhältnis zur byzantinischen," *OC* 41 (1957), 76–78, 90–92; N. and M. Thierry, "Peintures du X^e siècle en Géorgie méridionale," *CahArch* 24 (1975), 73–113; B. Giginėšvili and E. Giunašvili, *Šatberdis krebuli X saukunisa* (Tbilisi, 1979).

¹¹⁷ B. Martin-Hisard, "Du T'ao-K'ardzheti à l'Athos: Moines géorgiens et réalités sociopolitiques (IX^e–XI^e siècles)," *BK* 41 (1983), 39–42; cf. J. Karst, ed., trans., and comm., *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*: I, *Code de Vakhtang VI* (Straßburg, 1934), 295 ff; I² (Straßburg, 1935), 260 ff; II, *Code d'Aghbougha* (Straßburg, 1938), 85–111; II², *Code d'Aghbougha, Code du Roi George V* (Straßburg, 1939), 159 ff; II³, *Code du Roi George V, Nomocanon du Catholicat d'Ibérie* (Straßburg, 1940), 25 ff, 61 ff.

¹¹⁸ The very close (almost symbiotic) relationship between the state and church has been outlined in M. Tarchnišvili, "Das Verhältnis von Kirche und Stadt im Königreich Georgien," *OC* 39 (1955), 79–92.

¹¹⁹ M. Van Esbroeck, "Eglise géorgienne des origines au moyen âge," *BK* 40 (1982), 196 f; First Preliminary Report, 19 note 22; Second Preliminary Report, 165, note 2; K. Salia, "La Tao-Klardjetie et ses monastères, II," *BK* 13–14 (1962), 40–46.

¹²⁰ None of the regions bestowed corresponds to the *gawars* or traditional place names in Tayk'. See: Eremyan, *Hayastan*, 118; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 151; Z. Avalichvili, "La succession du curopalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao," *Byz* 8 (1933), 177 ff; N. Oikonomidès, "Un taktikon inédit du X^e siècle," *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, II (Belgrade, 1964), 181; idem, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), 260, 269, 355, 362 f; Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, trans., intro., and comm. M. Canard and H. Berbérian (Brussels, 1973), 21 note 1; Asohik, *Histoire universelle*, trans. F. Macler (Paris, 1917), 59 note 7, 60 notes 1–7.

¹²¹ *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 292–302; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 497 f. The only Georgian lands outside this united kingdom are: Kaxet'i, Lori, and the Emirate of Tbilisi.

¹²² N. Adontz, "Tornik le moine," *Byz* 13 (1938), 143–64 (rpr. in N. Adontz, *Etudes armeno-byzantines* [Lisbon, 1965], 297–318); Badridzé, "Contribution," 163–71; M. Tarchnišvili, "Die Anfänge der schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit des hl. Euthymius und der Aufstand von Bardas Skleros," *OC* 38 (1954), 120–24; P. Peeters, "Un colophon géorgien de Thornik le moine," *AB* 50 (1932), 363–71; Aristakēs, xix; G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, I (Paris, 1896), 415 ff; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, I.1 (Munich, 1924), 978. On the ensuing relations between Basil II and David Curopalate see Dölger, *Regesten*, 979–1000.

¹²³ Asohik, 59 f; Peeters, "Histoires," 20–22; cf. Forsyth, *Chronicle*, 338 f, 449–51; R. Blake, "Some Byzantine Accounting Practices Illustrated from Georgian Sources," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 51 (1940), 15 ff.

whom Basil released from his imprisonment, was sent to David.¹²⁴ T^ornik had followed his kinsman John to Mount Athos, where a small Georgian community was building a monastery. T^ornik, who had previously served with distinction in the Greek army, was summoned by the *paracoemomenus* and Theophano, the emperor's mother, to Constantinople, whence he was dispatched to Tao. This embassy met with success, and David sent twelve thousand troops (possibly under T^ornik's command) to join the Greek forces at the second battle of Pankaleia, where Bardas Skleros was defeated on 24 March 979.¹²⁵ At the time of the embassy the agreement must have been made to cede the aforementioned lands with the proviso that such territories would return to Byzantine sovereignty on David's death.¹²⁶ Since none of these lands are in Tayk^ʿ, this can only mean that the province was entirely in the hands of David prior to 979. Before this date it is likely that Hark^ʿ and Apahunik were partially under the de facto control of David. Thus the grant gave legal possession of disputed territories as well as the attainment of new lands (e.g., Karin).¹²⁷

If this arrangement was so public and straightforward, why did Basil II in 1000 invade and occupy Oltu and Thither (i.e., Upper) Tao, a region which was not included in the agreement? J. Forsyth attempts to solve this riddle by relying on the uncorroborated account of Yaḥyā B. Saʿīd of Antioch.¹²⁸ In his revolt against Basil II and Constantine VIII Bardas Phocas sent his son Nikephoros to David's court in search of military aid (ca. 988). David sent a force of one thousand, far smaller than his earlier commitment to Basil, "because supporting neither Phocas nor Basil wholeheartedly offered a possible means of escaping from this dilemma."¹²⁹ The force of one thousand, under the leadership of the two sons of Bagrat, fought briefly at the side of Nikephoros Phocas and returned home. According to Yaḥyā B. Saʿīd,¹³⁰ Da-

vid asked for Basil's pardon (ca. 991), and since he was without an heir, he offered to will all of his lands to the Greek emperor. Basil accepted this offer and at David's death occupied all his lands. Further, Forsyth adds that the adoption of Bagrat III by David must have been abrogated for "neither the *Georgian Royal Annals* nor any other Georgian source suggests that when the Emperor occupied the lands which had formed the core of David's state, he was usurping Bagrat III's rights. Moreover, Basil II met no resistance from Bagrat III in carrying out the annexation."¹³¹ In my opinion, Yaḥyā's account is fictional and cannot be reconciled with the events that both preceded and followed the death of David Curopalate. First, relying on the silence of the *Georgian Royal Annals* to prove an argument is analogous to carrying water in a colander. The Annals are a rather ad hoc collection of chronicles which was formed around what survived of the histories of Leontius and Ĵuanšer; to this a myriad of emendations and supplements have been added through the centuries. Merely because this chronicle and a few others mention that David died without a son or brother and that the Greeks took possession of his lands¹³² is no indication that the adoption of Bagrat III was void in the eyes of the Georgian monarchy. It should be remembered that in 989 David became estranged from Bagrat but that good relations were quickly restored by King Smbat of Armenia.¹³³

Rather than judge the motives of the participants by lacunae in the texts, their actions should be followed. The news of David's death reached Basil in Tarsus, where he had wintered his army. From Cilicia the emperor proceeded, on 31 March 1000, through the Amanus Pass to Maraş and Malatya. His entourage reached Erzincan in early July, whence he traveled to Havči^ʿ near the flank of Bingöl Dağ on the Iberian-controlled border of Tayk^ʿ.¹³⁴ Here he met with and received homage from the assembled kings of the adjoining regions; at this time he conferred on Bagrat III (now king of Abkhazet^{ʿi}) the title of curopalate and on his father, Gurgen II of Iberia, the title of magister. But the scene that follows this ceremony is far from harmonious, and it bespeaks extreme tension

¹²⁴ Skylitzes, ed. J. Thurn, CFHB (Berlin, 1973), 326 = Cedrenus, II, Bonn ed. (1839), 431 f.

¹²⁵ W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna, 1976), 44 ff.

¹²⁶ See above, note 123; Aristakēs, 21; Avalichvili, "La succession," 177; Schlumberger, II (Paris, 1900), 163 f; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), 504–8; V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Administrativnye peremeny na vostoke vizantii v X–XI vv," *VizVrem* 44 (1983), 68–80.

¹²⁷ Forsyth (*Chronicle*, 389, 450 note 47) believes that eastern Basean was already one of David's possessions.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 435–78.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 438, 461 note 143. There is no fully adequate explanation as to why David gave any support to Bardas Phocas.

¹³⁰ As cited by Forsyth (*ibid.*, 465, 516 note 3).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 468.

¹³² Cf. *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 297; Asoḥik, 162; Skylitzes, 339.

¹³³ *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 296 f; Asoḥik, 134 f.

¹³⁴ Asoḥik, 163 f; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 286, 444; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 156 f; Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 492 f; W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1981), 48 note 11.

between the Greeks and Georgians. It seems that the nobles from the court of the deceased Curopalate David had encamped near the Greeks and one of these Georgians sought to harvest some fodder from the adjacent lands. The Greek contingent, which consisted of six thousand Russian infantry, thought this a sufficient excuse (undoubtedly with the encouragement of Basil) to attack the heavily outnumbered Georgians en masse and inflict substantial casualties.¹³⁵ From here Basil marched (via Vařarřakert) to Oltu where he systematically proceeded to replace David's administration in northern Tayk' with Greek officials and perhaps a few Georgians and Armenians.¹³⁶ Many of the resident Georgian nobles were deported to other parts of the empire. It is clear that Basil, who returned to Constantinople in the late summer of 1000, never intended to accommodate the Georgian nobility, and their reaction was swift. Early in the spring of 1000 Gurgen II and his army invaded Tao. Although he failed to capture the heavily fortified site of Oltu, he created havoc in the region and established his base in the Narman Valley. Basil dispatched his kanikleios, Nikephoros Uranos,¹³⁷ with instructions to crush the revolt. However, Uranos halted his force and made camp in the *gawar* of Basean. Asořik says that both armies stayed in the same area until winter. Since Gurgen controlled Narman, he obviously controlled the strategic defile in the pass from řorbandede to Narman, forcing Uranos to camp near the former.¹³⁸ The Greeks did not have sufficient support in the vale of Narman or the Oltu-Penek Valley to dislodge Gurgen, and they were forced to break the stalemate by granting many of his de-

mands. The terms of the settlement are not specified, but we can assume that some semblance of Georgian authority was reestablished in Tayk' (allowing the Greeks to stay at Oltu), including perhaps concessions to David's exiled nobility and official recognition of Gurgen's status by granting him the title of curopalate.¹³⁹

The course of events does much to illuminate Basil's original intentions. By the late tenth century the "traditional" lands of Tao consisted of the original Georgian core of Hither (i.e., Lower) Tao (stretching from the Tortum Valley to the řoruh east of řspir, including the lands south of Taoskari), combined with northern Tayk' (i.e., Thither/Upper Tao = the Oltu-Penek Valley = the Armenian *gawar* of Bořxa), and the adjacent valleys of Tayk' (e.g., Narman, Bardiz, and Zanzak). Collectively, these districts form the southwest corner of the Marchlands, and they are separated from Basean at the south by a mountainous border. David expanded to the east, south, and west beyond his natural frontiers, initially to capture lands under an ambiguous Greek suzerainty, and later to receive a formal (but temporary) grant from a grateful Byzantine emperor. However, when David openly supported the revolt of Bardas Phocas, Basil feared that his onetime ally had grown too powerful, and his death would provide the appropriate moment to eliminate any potential threat. At the Erzincan conference Gurgen, Bagrat, and the nobles of Tao must have become aware of Basil's plans not only to reoccupy the lands granted provisionally but also the Oltu-Penek Valley in the heart of Tao. The emperor believed that a permanent Greek presence in the Marchlands would help to blunt any Georgian interference in Byzantine affairs.¹⁴⁰ Basil could justify this seizure for in 591 the Greeks assumed nominal suzerainty over the Armenians of Tayk', whose fortified north border ran along a diagonal axis (roughly from Oltu to Tortum) so as to include the valleys of Narman and Oltu-Penek. The Georgians could assert their rightful claim for in the early ninth century Ařot I had consolidated northern Tayk' and its adjacent

¹³⁵ Asořik, 164 f; cf. Aristakēs, 4–6.

¹³⁶ Aristakēs, 6; Asořik, 165; P. Lemerle, *Prolegomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kēkaumēnos*, Mémoires, Académie Royale de Belgique 44 (Brussels, 1960), 33; Felix, *Byzanz*, 132 note 3. Basil probably felt secure in his actions, expecting to receive support from his "natural allies" in this area, the Chalcedonian Armenians. Like the earlier semi-civilized tribes, who protected their benign isolation in the Marchlands, these Armenians could exercise a certain independence within the mountainous barriers. See V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-Xalkidonity na Vostočnyx Granicax Vizantiřskoř Imperiř (XIV)* (Erevan, 1980), 90 ff; First Preliminary Report, 17 note 14; Gregory of Narek, *Le livre de prières*, trans. I. Kēchichian, preface by J. Mécērian (Paris, 1961), 34.

¹³⁷ Forsyth, *Chronicle*, 558; Felix, *Byzanz*, 135 note 10. This is the same Uranos who revised the *Praecepta Militaria* of Nikephoros Phocas and whose name appears on two presently unpublished seals in Dumbarton Oaks (F 1509; F 1576). See also: *Epistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle*, ed. J. Darrouzès, AOC 6 (Paris, 1960), 226.

¹³⁸ It is obvious that Gurgen too did not encamp in the plain of Basean. This would have led to an immediate confrontation.

¹³⁹ Asořik, 166 f; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 160 f; First Preliminary Report, 36; M. Lort'k'ip'anidze, *Istorija Gruzii XI-načala XIII veka* (Tbilisi, 1974), 48 ff. Lort'k'ip'anidze provides not only a valuable summary of the relations between the Greeks and the Georgian crown for control of the Marchlands, but an assessment of the complicated feudal system and the often rebellious nobility.

¹⁴⁰ H. Ahrweiler, "La frontière et les frontières de byzance en orient," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1971), 211–19; Toumanoff, "Caucasia," 127.

gawars behind the barrier of the Marchlands. In 1001 Gurgen did not attack Theodosiupolis, Hark^c, or any other region outside the Marches. He laid siege to Oltu, the principal city of Tao, and encamped at Narman to block the Byzantine assault. Gurgen did not remove the Greeks from the southern Marchlands, and subsequent attacks in 1014 and 1021 did not succeed.¹⁴¹ The statement that Gurgen invaded solely because he was jealous of the superior title held by his son (i.e., *curopalate*) is illogical.¹⁴² Georgian kings traditionally held Byzantine titles in contempt, regarding their acceptance as a method to placate an annoying neighbor to the west. It provided only an external recognition of the authority that they held at home. If Gurgen wanted to harm his son, he would have remained inactive, allowing the Greeks to usurp Bagrat's inheritance in Tayk^c. Certainly any lands captured by Gurgen would be included in the regions passed on to his heir. In part, Gurgen's actions may have been motivated out of a sense of betrayal. The twelve thousand troops sent by David to crush the revolt of Bardas Skleros came not only from Tao but from the central and northern regions of Georgia (Abkhazet'i and K'art'li). The inscription from the church at Zarzme testifies to this.¹⁴³ Gurgen may have played no part in David's support of the revolt of Bardas Phocas (perhaps explaining why such a small contingent was sent), and consequently he believed that his son deserved the patrimonial lands of Bagratid Tao.

There is some evidence to show that the diagonal axis of fortifications, which separated Armenian Tayk^c from Georgian Tao before the ninth century, was also the north and northwest boundary for the theme of Iberia. The theme was probably created immediately after the annexation of David's lands.¹⁴⁴ No extant documents mention a Greek presence in the regions north of the diag-

nal frontier.¹⁴⁵ In the tenth century there was a small, fortified outpost at Soteroupolis (near the modern Borçka/Yeniyol).¹⁴⁶ The strategos and troops stationed there were intended to protect the Byzantine port facilities at Hopa and Batum from an inland attack, and they had no jurisdiction in the Marchlands. Of the thirteen toponyms in the will of Eustathios Boilas (1059), three can be identified, and these are on the east flank of the diagonal frontier.¹⁴⁷ Boilas' Kopterion is probably the site of the famous battle (1048/49) in the *gawar* of Basean.¹⁴⁸ His Kalmouche is likely to be the fortress of Kalmak, which I tentatively place south of Olur.¹⁴⁹ The *proasteion* of Barta should be the modern Bardez (Bardiz/Bardus).¹⁵⁰ It is only at the extreme south, near the strategic junction at Tortum, that the Greeks marginally extended their physical occupation beyond the diagonal frontier. About 15 km northwest of Tortum a now missing Greek in-

(1973–74), 156–83; cf. V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "The Social-Administrative Structures in the East of the Byzantine Empire," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982), 24 f. Unfortunately, the few Greek seals from the theme of Iberia or from the ambiguous "Interior Iberia" can seldom be dated precisely. For example, see: N. Oikonomides, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 24 (fig. 80), 28; G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, ed. J. Nesbitt, II (Bern, 1984), 220, 333 f, 449 f.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 171 f. What the Greeks envisioned as the "theme of Iberia" was never understood by Armenian historians, nor did the latter use the term "Iberia" to describe specifically the lands of that theme. They simply referred to places "in the *gawar* (district) of Vrac^c (Georgia)"; at one time Oltu is said to be in the *gawar* of Theodosiupolis. The Armenian misunderstanding is probably due to the short duration of the Iberian theme and its fluctuating boundaries. The *axarh* of Tayk^c remains a specific geographical region. Cf. W. Seibt, "Miscellen zur historischen Geographie von Armenien und Georgien in byzantinischer Zeit," *Handes Amsorya* 90 (1976), 633–42.

¹⁴⁶ Second Preliminary Report, 165 note 4.

¹⁴⁷ By placing at least part of the Boilas estate in the Marchlands, I am in complete agreement with the geographical setting proposed by Speros Vryonis, Jr. ("The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas [1059]," *DOP* 11 [1957], 275 f). The arguments provided by Paul Lemerle (*Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* [Paris, 1977], 38–63) for locating the lands of Boilas within the regions administered from Edessa are circumstantial at best. The ten to eleven days that Boilas traveled from an unspecified locale in Cappadocia would be more than sufficient to reach Theodosiupolis and its environs.

¹⁴⁸ Also known as Καπετρίον, Kaputru; see Felix, *Byzanz*, map, 129, 167 note 103, 168 note 107, 172 note 115; J. Shepard, "Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s and the Role of Catacalan Cecaumenos," *REArm*, n.s. 11 (1975–76), 270 ff; First Preliminary Report, 23 note 43; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 180, 214. Cf. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 44 ff.

¹⁴⁹ First Preliminary Report, 36 note 103.

¹⁵⁰ Located between Kars and Oltu on Fig. 1; cf. I. Zdanévitch, *L'itinéraire géorgien du Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo et les églises aux confins de l'Atabégat* (Paris, 1966), 14. Certain officials of the theme of Iberia occasionally inhabit the fortress of Hawac^c, which is located near Theodosiupolis. Yovhannēsean (First Preliminary Report, 36 note 105) mislocated this site and associated it with the Georgian monastery in the Tortum Valley at Haho. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 80, 157, 194 f.

¹⁴¹ Northern Tayk^c was integrated into a Greek theme not because of a "pro-Byzantine party" there (an inappropriate label for the Chalcedonian Armenians) but by the settlement of Greeks into certain depopulated areas. The abortive attempt in 1021 by Gēorgi I to enlist the Fātimid Caliph of Egypt, al-Ḥākim bi Amr Illāh, into an alliance against Basil shows how desperate was the Georgian situation. See Forsyth, *Chronicle*, 223, 309, 314, 476 f, 521 note 35, 549, 561 ff.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 598 note 55; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 297; Asotik, 166.

¹⁴³ E. Takaišvili, *Arxeologičeskija ėkskursii, razyskanija i zamethi*, pt. 1 (Tbilisi, 1905), 17–22; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 293 f note 2; P. Tarchnichvili, "Le soulèvement de Bardas Sklérus," *BK* 17–18 (1964), 96; Badridzé, "Contribution," 186 f; Peeters, *Histoire*, 162; Schlumberger, I, 426 f.

¹⁴⁴ Our earliest evidence for a specific Greek administrator in the theme is 1023; see K. Juzbašjan, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux X^e–XI^e siècles," *REArm*, n.s. 10

scription on the church at Egrek/Ekek was found by Father Sargisian in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵¹ Since the epigraph dates to 1006/7, we can assume that Basil's troops (and perhaps a few civilian settlers) quickly established a small outpost here. To the north in the Tortum Valley there is no evidence of a Byzantine occupation, but the Greeks did maintain good relations with their immediate Georgian neighbors through occasional largesse. At Oşk two presently lost Georgian inscriptions, which were transcribed by Takaišvili, specifically mention Basil II. The first (1021/22) describes the repair of the monastic church, and the second (1025) mentions his death.¹⁵² Elsewhere in the Tortum Valley and its northern environs Georgian authority is unchallenged. At Işhan a chapel (1006) and the cathedral (1032) are built under Iberian patronage. For the most part, the Greek occupation is confined to the lands of northern Tayk^c (= Upper Tao).

There is no evidence that the Georgian population in the Greek-controlled areas of Tao (part of the theme of Iberia) suffered initially under the new military administration. The great ecclesiastical center at Bana seems to have functioned normally between 1001–22. The attempts by Georgian monarchs in the north to capture their ancestral holdings in Tao (1001, 1014, 1021–22) met with limited success or failure. By the third decade of the eleventh century the Greeks retreated from some of their Iberian holdings. In late 1025 (or early 1026) the young Bagrat IV was returned from his Greek captivity to the Iberian regents assembled in the cathedral at Bana, where the Georgians now maintained a military presence. Within seven years Bagrat was crowned and married, and by 1034 he had reoccupied most of the fortresses of Upper Tao.¹⁵³ The commemorative paintings added to the church at Oşk in 1036 may represent a reaffirmation of Bagrat's authority in the

south.¹⁵⁴ By the early 1040s the Greeks succeeded in recapturing most of the regions east of the diagonal frontier, while Bagrat IV (d. 1072) resided considerably north of his holdings in Tao. After the annexation of Ani and Şirak (ca. 1045), the theme of Iberia was administered jointly with that of Greater Armenia.¹⁵⁵ During the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–55) a certain Serblias was sent to Iberia to conduct an inventory and to exact taxes that had never been demanded previously. The resident Greeks, as well as the remaining Armenians and Georgians, defected to the Turkish side.¹⁵⁶ Prior to Serblias, an indigenous army of peasant soldiers guarded the area and received in turn an allotment of tax-free government land. Also, regular troops may have been removed from the region, first to crush the revolt of Leon Tornicius (1047) and later to stop invading Patznaks.¹⁵⁷ By the time Boilas arrived much of the Iberian theme was deserted: "I received this land, and it was foul and unmanageable . . . inhabited by snakes, scorpions, and wild beasts, so that the Armenians who dwell opposite here were not able to have even a little rest."¹⁵⁸ Seven of his eleven

The Georgian administration of most of Lower Tao (the region west of the diagonal frontier) remained constant during the period of the Iberian theme (cf. Avalichvili, "La succession," 198–201; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 164 f; Takaišvili, 1917, 63 f). Because of the nature of the topography in this region, it would be naive and inaccurate to place the boundary between Lower and Upper Tao (i.e., the respective areas of Georgian and Greek control) on a single east-west axis. For example, to employ the northern half of the Oltu Suyu as a border (First Preliminary Report, fig. 1) would leave almost all of the significant settlements and lands of Tao in Greek hands. The regions above Taoskari/Nikoma are generally uninhabited until the lands of Kola at the northeast and Klarjet'i to the north. Due to Bana's exposed position in a valley, it would be logically administered by those in control of Penek.

¹⁵⁴I would like to thank Prof. Nicole Thierry for sharing some of her presently unpublished views on the 11th-century paintings at Oşk and for advice on the church at Egrek/Ekek.

¹⁵⁵From 1033 through the 1040s there are specific references simply to the δούξ Ἰβηρίας; see Felix, *Byzanz*, 154 note 62, 159 f, 163 note 93, 164. Cf. Shepard, "Scylitzes," 299–310; Skylitzes, 434–37; Grousset, *Histoire*, 556–87; J. C. Cheynet, "Du stratège de thème au duc," *TM* 9 (1985), 185–87; First Preliminary Report, 17 note 12; V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Vizantiiskie praviteli femy Iverija," *Akademija Nauk Armjanskoj SSR, Vestnik Obščestvennyx Nauk* 2 (1973), 63–78; E. Cagareišvili, "Somħuri c'karoebi sakart'elo-bizantiis urt'iert'obis šesaheb X–XI saukunoebsi," *Mravall'avi* 2 (1973), 157–208; H. Bartikian, "Gia ton 'ibëriko strato' kai to buzantino thema 'Iberia,'" *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985), 467–77.

¹⁵⁶Cecaumenus, *Stratēgikon*, ed., trans., and comm. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), 152–54; Attaleiates, ed. Bekker, Bonn ed. (1853), 44; Lemerle, *Prolégomènes*, 70 f; idem, *Cinq études*, 268 f; Skylitzes, 476. The extortion and expropriation of the property of the wealthy began when Niketas was governor(?) of Iberia; cf. Aristakēs, 27; and Juzbaşjan, "L'administration," 157 f.

¹⁵⁷Vryonis, "Will," 276.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 265 f.

¹⁵¹M. Brosset, *Inscriptions géorgiennes et autres recueillies par le Père Nersès Sargisian et expliquées*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, ser. 7, vol. 8, no. 10 (1864), 13; E. Takaišvili, *Arxeologičeskaja ekspedicija 1917-go goda v južnye provincii Gruzii* (Tbilisi, 1952), 77, pls. 109–13; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, map 4; Lemerle, *Prolégomènes*, 29 ff; H. Bartikian, "La généalogie du Magistros Bagrat, Catépan de l'orient, et des Kékauménos," *REArm*, n.s. 2 (1965), 262 f; Zdanévitch, *L'itinéraire*, 6; N. Adontz, "Notes arméno-byzantines," *Byz* 10 (1935), 194 f.

¹⁵²Takaišvili, 1917, 63. This type of imperial patronage outside the formal boundaries of Byzantium, especially to a state religion with such close ties to Constantinople, is not unusual. Emperors after Basil sponsored ecclesiastical construction in Jerusalem.

¹⁵³*Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 306 ff; Zonaras, III, ed. M. Pinder, Bonn ed. (1897), 557, 568, 575, 580, 590; Skylitzes, 396 f; Aristakēs, 20 f; Schlumberger, II, 475–90.

villages were abandoned when he arrived. The Greeks had no base of support to defend themselves from the first Turkish penetration of this region by İbrāhīm İnāl (1048–49).¹⁵⁹ The theme of Iberia died as quickly as it was born. Ironically, this theme was created out of the Armenian province of Tayk^ʿ and bore the name Iberia merely because those lands had been incorporated into one of the expanding Bagratid provinces of Georgia in the early ninth century.

The formal return of northern Tayk^ʿ (= southern or Upper Tao; ca. 1074) to the Georgian crown by the Armeno-Georgian governor, Grigor Bakurian, did not help to stem the Turkish advance.¹⁶⁰ An incompetent Gēorgi II, the son of Bagrat IV, quietly accepted Altaic vassalage. He abdicated in 1089 in favor of his son David II, who won a series of victories over the Turks and reestablished a powerful Georgian monarchy in the new capital at Tbilisi. His troops penetrated as far south as Tao and İspir, but he made no attempt to resettle the southern Marchlands. Although he carries the epithet “the Builder,” all of his constructions are north of Klarjet^ʿ.¹⁶¹ His granddaughter, Queen Tamar (1184–1213), was renowned for her patronage of

ecclesiastical and military construction, but all of it was north and east of the Ačara (Adzhari) River. Her political interests in the south were confined to the newly created empire of Trabzon. The few Georgian princes who remained in the Marchlands lived quietly as vassals of the Turks;¹⁶² the others fled north of the Ačara into Guria-Mingrelia, Imeretia, K^ʿart^ʿli, and Kakheti. In 1235 the Mongols penetrated as far as Ardahan, but the poor, underpopulated Marchlands were generally ignored.¹⁶³ In 1260 Georgian troops from Šavšet^ʿi and Klarjet^ʿi were mobilized against these invaders. Eventually, Georgian nobles made alliances with and married into the ruling Mongol clans.¹⁶⁴ We hear in 1302 of a certain T^ʿaqā P^ʿanaskerteli, the duke of Tao, who decisively defeated a group of Turkmen at Tortum Kalesi.¹⁶⁵ But such military actions appear to be exceptional. Gēorgi V and his army made only a brief foray through this area in 1334.

By the fifteenth century the cultural links between the Georgians of the marches and their counterparts to the north quickly eroded. In 1469 Georgia was divided into three kingdoms and five principalities. Akhaltzikhe became the capital of the Georgio-Muslim principality of Samts^ʿkhe or Saatabago (= country of the *atabeg*).¹⁶⁶ Under the leadership of Kvarkvare II (1451–98) and his eventual successor Mze-Čābūk (1500–1515), Saatabago maintained an official vassalage under the Ottomans and still managed to play off the Geor-

¹⁵⁹ Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 179 f.

After the 11th century the lines of transportation again passed around or simply stopped at the Marchlands. See: Felix, *Byzanz*, 174 note 121, 176 note 127; Ibn Bībī, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, trans. H. Duda (Copenhagen, 1959), 33 f, 174–77; *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwin in 740 (1340)*, trans. G. Le Strange (London, 1919), 94–97, 202, 205, 211; Naṣūḥ Maṭrakī, *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i ʿIrakeyn-i Sultān Süleymān Hān*, ed. and comm. H. Yurdaydın (Ankara, 1976), 168–73; A. Gabriel, “Les étapes d’une campagne dans les deux ‘Irak,” *Syria* 9 (1928), 328–49; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolischen Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, II (Leipzig, 1926), 2 ff; R. Bedrosian, *The Turco-Mongol Invasions and the Lords of Armenia in the 13th-14th Centuries*, diss. (Columbia University, 1979); William of Rubruck in *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, ed. M. Komroff (New York, 1928), 138, 200, 214.

It was not until the early 15th century, when Tīmūr Leng briefly united the Marchlands with the neighboring regions, that travelers like de Clavijo routinely passed through the Tortum Valley. It is most significant that in de Clavijo’s time (*Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. Estrada, I [Madrid, 1943], 243 f) the frontier between “Georgia” and the lands of the Greeks was still near İspir.

¹⁶⁰ This is probably why Grigor Bakurian (Γρηγόριος Παχουριάνος), a native of Tao and a Byzantine general, founded a monastery in Bulgaria (1083) rather than return to his homeland. See: A. Chanidzé, “Au sujet du bâtisseur de monastère de Petritsoni Grigol Bakourianis-dzé (en Bulgarie),” *BK* 38 (1980), 36; idem, “Le grand domestique de l’occident, Gregorii Bakurianis-dzé, et le monastère géorgien fondé par lui en Bulgarie,” *BK* 28 (1971), 134; A. Kazhdan, *Armjane v sostave gospodstvjuščego klassa vizantijskoj imperii v XI–XIII vv.* (Erevan, 1975), 60–66, 143 ff.

¹⁶¹ In 1116 he was victorious over a Turkish contingent in Basen. Five years later his 60,000 troops supposedly defeated 400,000 Turks at Did-Gord. His successor Dimitri I (1125–54)

made half-hearted attempts to repopulate Tao. See *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 381. Regarding the lack of new Georgian construction south of the Ačara River, see Bérédzé, “L’architecture,” 483–94.

¹⁶² According to Ibn Bībī (174), Oltu and many other castles in “Georgia” were brought under the suzerainty of the Seljuks by 1230. The Sultans of Rum merely replaced the Saltuks and Mengüceks, who held authority here in the previous century.

¹⁶³ The most significant Mongol penetration occurs in 1402, when Tīmūr Leng orders the capture of Tortum. He intended to use this site as a base in his campaign against Sultan Bayazid.

¹⁶⁴ Limper, *Mongolen*, 79 ff, 165, 197 ff. These nobles appear to have asserted considerable independence, for the code of Gēorgi V (1318–46) does not include the Marchlands within its territorial limits; see G. Charachidzé, *Introduction à l’étude de la féodalité géorgienne* (Geneva, 1971), 37–47.

¹⁶⁵ Toumanoff, “Collegial Sovereignty,” 169 ff.

¹⁶⁶ V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490: An Abridged Translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunji’s ‘Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī’* (London, 1957), vi, 120; idem, “Akhiskha,” *EP* (1960), 325; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II.1, *Histoire moderne*, trans. M. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1856), 199–238; M. Kırzioğlu, *Osmanlılar’ın Kafkas-Eller’ni fethi (1451–1590)* (Ankara, 1976), 85 ff; idem, *Kars tarihi* (Istanbul, 1953), I, 507; Bryer and Windfield, *Pontos*, 346 ff; J. L. Bacqué-Grammont and Ch. Adle, “Notes et documents sur Mzé-Čābūk, atabeg de Géorgie méridionale (1500–1515), et les Safavides. Etudes Turco-Safavides V,” *Studia Iranica* 8 (1978), 213–49.

gians and the new Safavid empire. The vigorous efforts of Uzun Hasan and Ya'qub (d. 1490) could not prevent the abrupt decline of the Akkoyunlu,¹⁶⁷ which allowed Mze-Čâbûk to consolidate his hold throughout the Marchlands. For the Greek world of the late fifteenth century the Marchlands was simply described as being Turkish.¹⁶⁸ The Ottomans consolidated their hold on the region in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁶⁹ From the late Mongolian period to the 1680s the Georgians of the marches converted en masse to Islam. This explains why the majority of the Christian population in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries is Armenian.¹⁷⁰

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¹⁶⁷J. Woods, *The Akkoyunlu, Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Chicago, 1976), 90 ff.

¹⁶⁸Chalkokondyles, ed. A. Darko, II (Budapest, 1923–27), 223.

¹⁶⁹C. Abuladze, *Tureckie istočniki istorii Samcche-Saatabago pervoj četverti XVIv.* (Tbilisi, 1983), 19 ff.

¹⁷⁰Second Preliminary Report, note 15.

Addendum. Regrettably, Nicole Thierry's superb article "Les peintures historiques d'Ošk'i (T'ao)" (*Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 2 [1986], 135–71) had not been published when I wrote these Preliminary Reports on the Marchlands. Her views on the cathedral at Penek (Georgian: Bana) are important. If the circular building depicted in the church at Ošk is the surviving structure at Penek, then it is certain that the outer shell of the latter had a continuous second level with windows and a two-tiered roof *before* the second major period of construction (cf. First Preliminary Report, 30). I found no evidence there in the presently *unexcavated* remains to show that the external buttress at the east encompasses an apsidal chamber. In fact the rather clumsy supporting wall separating the outer shell from the east apse in the ambulatory (certainly added before the nineteenth century) blocks completely any potential entrance to the chamber from the inside (cf. First Preliminary Report, figs. 38 and 48). Also, if such a chamber existed within the present buttress, it would not only be far smaller proportionally than similar examples in the other tetraconches (e.g., Apamea, Zvart'noc', and the Gagikašēn at Ani), but less significant architecturally than even the simple porch of Penek's west entrance (only the porch's west wall survives extending from pilaster 10; see First Preliminary Report, figs. 38 and 41).